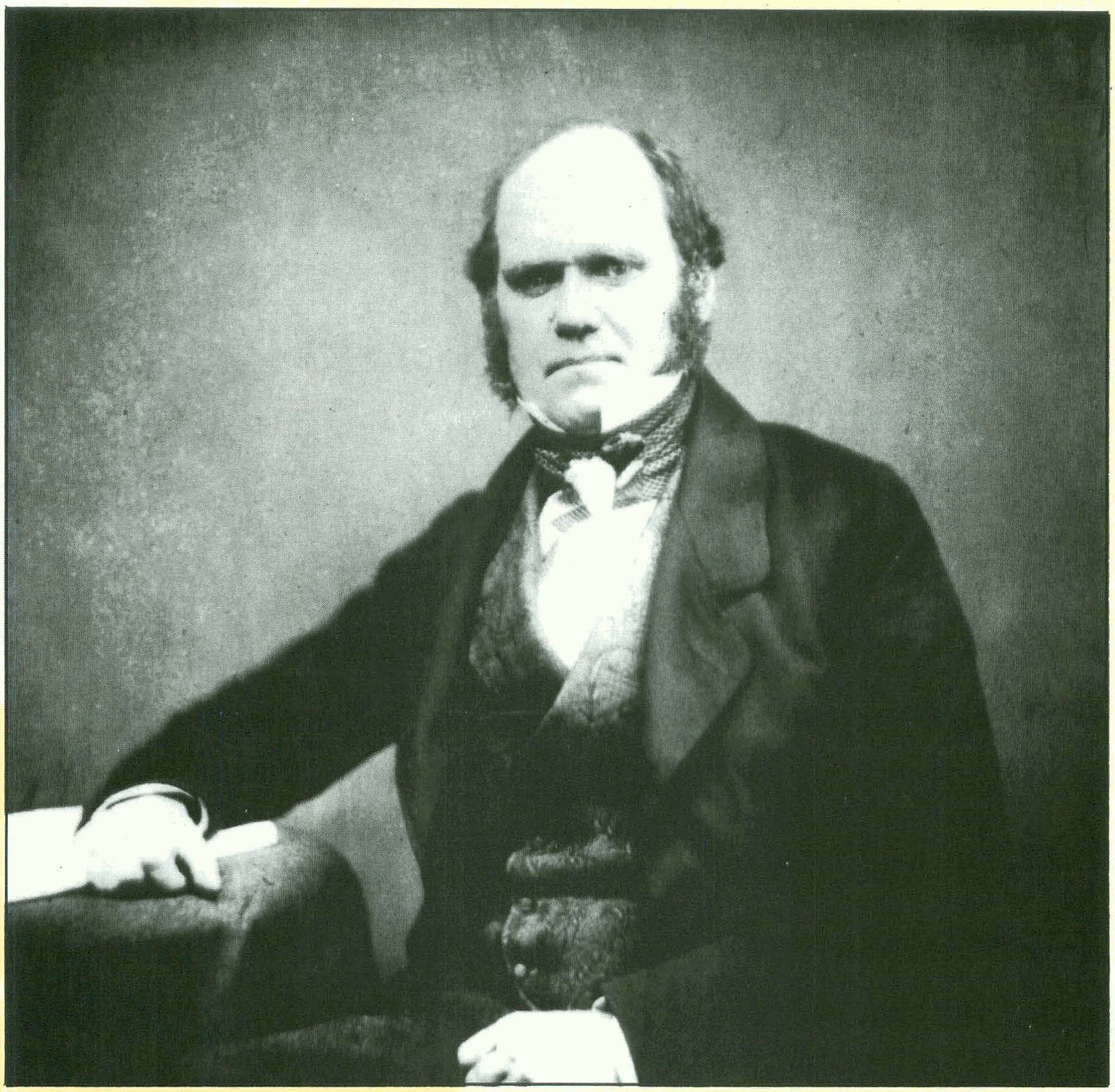
The Journal of Historical Review

Volume 21, Number 2 www.ihr.org March/April 2002



Subversion of Science: How Psychology Lost Darwin
Glayde Whitney

My Revisionist Method
Robert Faurisson

Le Pen's 'Detail' Remark

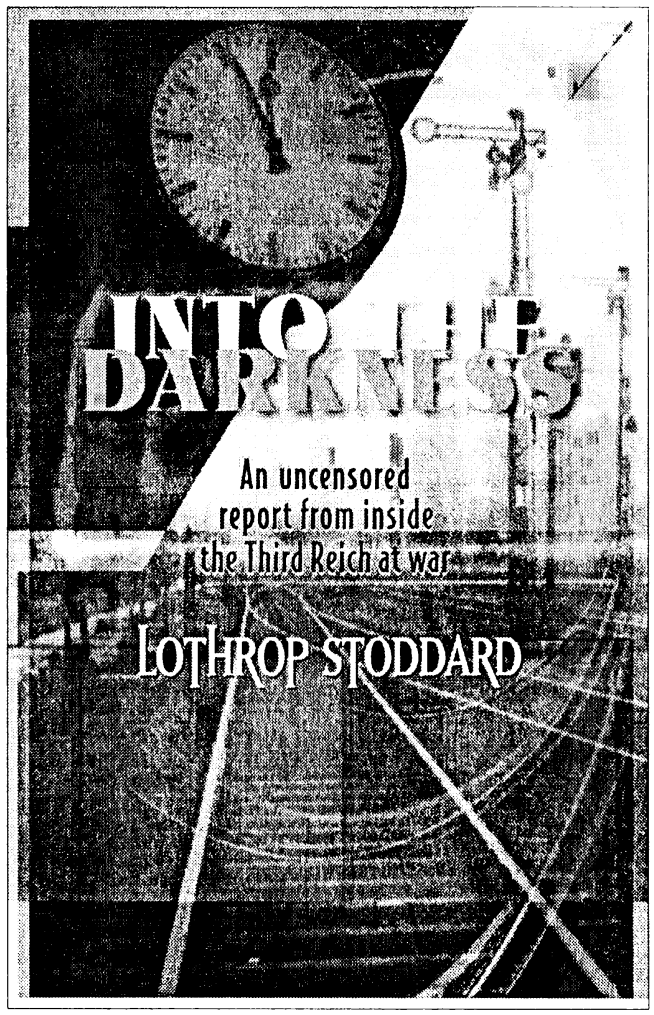
'Reexamining Assumptions': An Interview with Tom Sunic

The United States and Israel
Joseph Sobran

— And More —

FIRST SUPPRESSED, THEN FORGOTTEN FOR SIXTY YEARS

Lothrop Stoddard's Sympathetic Report from Hitler's Wartime Reich



Twentieth-century America's most perceptive, influential, and prophetic writer on race — Lothrop Stoddard — spent four months in late 1939-early 1940 covering National Socialist Germany, as its leaders and its people girded for total war. Stoddard criss-crossed the Third Reich to observe nearly every aspect of its political, social, economic, and military life, and he talked with men and women from all walks of life, from Adolf Hitler, Heinrich Himmler, and Joseph Goebbels to taxi drivers and chambermaids.

The result — *Into the Darkness* — is not only a classic of World War II reportage, but a unique evaluation of Germany's National Socialist experiment. For Stoddard was no ordinary journalist. A Harvard Ph.D in history, the author of *The Rising Tide of Color* and other works that played a key role in the enactment of America's 1924 immigration act, fluent in German and deeply versed in European politics and culture, Stoddard brought to *Into the Darkness* a sophistication and a sympathy impossible for William Shirer and a myriad of other journalistic hacks.

To be sure, the New England Yankee Stoddard was no supporter of the Hitler dictatorship, but he was deeply interested in National Socialist policies, above all in the social and the racial sphere. Reading *Into the Darkness* brings you to hearings before a German eugenics court, to an ancestral farm in Westphalia, to the headquarters of the National Labor Service, to German markets, factories, medical clinics, and welfare offices, as keenly observed and analyzed by Stoddard. You'll read, too, of Stoddard's conversations with German policy makers in all fields: Hans F. K. Günther and Fritz Lenz on race and eugenics; Walther Darré on agriculture; Robert Ley on labor; Gertrud Scholz-Klink on women in the Third Reich; General Alexander Löhr on the Luftwaffe's Polish campaign, as well as Hitler, Himmler, Goebbels and many other leaders. And you'll travel with Stoddard to Slovakia, where he interviews Monsignor Tiso, the national leader later put to death by the Communists, and to Hungary, where the Magyars, still at peace, gaze apprehensively at Soviet Russia.

Into the Darkness (so named from the mandatory air-defense blackout that Stoddard found so vexing) shines a torch of sanity and truth against the vituperation of all things National Socialist that has been practically obligatory for the past sixty years. Knowledgeable, urbane, skeptical, and above all fair, Stoddard's book is a unique, an indispensable historical document, a time capsule for truth, and a stimulating page-turner for everyone interested in the Third Reich and the German people.

Into The Darkness:
An Uncensored Report from Inside the Third Reich at War
Quality softcover. 311 pages. New Introduction. Index. (#0123)
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On the cover: Charles Darwin in 1854, age 45.

The Journal of Historical Review (ISSN: 0195-6752) began publication in 1980. It upholds and continues the revisionist tradition of scholars such as Harry Elmer Barnes, A. J. P. Taylor, William H. Chamberlin, Paul Rassinier, and Charles Tansill. *The Journal of Historical Review* is published six times yearly by the Institute for Historical Review, P.O. Box 2739, Newport Beach, CA 92659. Subscription price: $40 per year, $65 for two years, and $90 for three years. For foreign subscriptions, add $20 per year. For overseas airmail delivery, add $40 per year. Remittances for subscriptions must be payable in U.S. dollars drawable on a U.S. bank. Donations to the IHR are tax-deductible.

Single copies of most *Journal* issues published since spring 1986 (volume 7) are available for $7.50 each, plus $2.00 shipping. Ask about the availability of specific issues. Hardbound annual volumes of the *Journal* for the years 1984, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, and 1993 are also available for $40.00 each, plus $3.50 shipping. Write for our booklist and prices.

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Le Pen's Notorious 'Detail' Remark about World War II

Jean-Marie Le Pen, leader of France's National Front party stunned the world on April 21, 2002, when he came in second in the French presidential race, to challenge the incumbent Jacques Chirac. In the May 5 run-off election, Le Pen garnered 18 percent of the vote.

Press coverage of the veteran nationalist political figure has been more than unfriendly; he has been maligned with outright falsehood. It is widely claimed, for example, that he dismissed "the Holocaust" as a "detail" of history. The *Los Angeles Times*, Jan. 25, 1999, told readers that Le Pen "once dismissed the organized killing of six million Jews by Nazi Germany as a simple 'detail' of World War II." A widely published Associated Press report of April 21, 2002, informed readers that Le Pen "is notorious for describing the Holocaust as 'a detail' of history." Even the reputable BBC "World Service" has echoed this claim.

What are the facts?

On two or three occasions Le Pen has referred to Nazi "gas chambers" — not "the Holocaust" — as a "detail" or "minor point" (*point de detail*) of World War II. During an interview in September 1987, he said: "Do you want me to say it is a revealed truth that everyone has to believe? That it's a moral obligation? I say there are historians who are debating these questions. I am not saying that the gas chambers did not exist. I did not see them myself. I haven't studied the questions specially. But I believe that it is a minor point [*point de detail*] in the history of the Second World War."

Jean-Marie Le Pen

Le Pen was brought to trial. In France, as in several other European countries, "Holocaust denial" is a crime. After a drawn-out court battle, he was convicted and fined $200,000.

In a 1996 interview with a German magazine, Le Pen was asked about his infamous "detail" remark (*Der Spiegel*, No. 46, 1996, p. 176):

> Q: Your remark nine years ago, that the gas chambers of Auschwitz are only a detail in the history of the Second World War II, has not been forgotten.
>
> A: When you write a two thousand page history of the Second World War, the deportations and the concentration camps will take up five pages, and the gas chambers perhaps 20 lines. One must be crazy or perverse to regard that remark as disparaging.
>
> Q: Not at all, because you give the impression of denying the uniqueness of the Holocaust.
>
> A: Everyone sees drama from his own perspective. My father was killed by a German mine, while I lost other relatives in Allied bombing attacks. The Second World War claimed tens of millions of victims. For some the most terrible aspect of it was the deportations, while for others it was the leveling bombings or the mass deaths by starvation and cold.
>
> Q: By comparing the genocide of the Jews with the other horrors of war, you relativize Auschwitz. In Germany this has led to a dispute among historians [*Historikerstreit*].
>
> A: In the terrible tragedy of the war there was a unique fact: the deportation and murder of Jews and resistance fighters by the Nazis. But that lasted four years at the most. The much greater crimes of the Soviet Gulags occurred over decades and cost millions of lives. Millions also

> perished in the Chinese camps, and there have been terrible genocides in Cambodia and Vietnam. None of those crimes has received the same consideration as the annihilation of the Jews, and that is a kind of one-sidedness [*Monokultur*] that shocks me.

During a visit to Munich on Dec. 5, 1997, Le Pen was again asked about his 1987 remark. He replied by saying "There is nothing belittling or scornful about such a statement," and "I have said and I repeat, at the risk of being sacrilegious, that the gas chambers are a detail of the history of the Second World War." He added: "If you take a book of a thousand pages on the Second World War, in which 50 million people died, the concentration camps occupy two pages and the gas chambers ten or 15 lines, and that's what one calls a detail."

Seventeen organizations — including the Simon Wiesenthal Center and the "Movement Against Racism and for Friendship Among Peoples" — promptly responded by filing a formal legal complaint. On Dec. 26, 1997, a Paris court sentenced Le Pen for this second "detail" remark. It ordered him to pay $50,000 to publish the text of the court's decision in a dozen French newspapers, and to pay a large amount of money to eleven of the organizations that had brought the complaint.

In a December 1997 interview Le Pen said that he would no longer speak publicly about Nazi gas chambers because nonconformist views on this subject are prohibited by law. "I won't respond any more," he explained. "It's a taboo subject that is protected by legal and criminal law, and the only opinion one can express about it is that allowed by law." (See "French Courts Punish Holocaust Apostasy," March-April 1998 *Journal of Historical Review.*)

What no major newspaper or news service has bothered to mention is that Le Pen's "detail" remark is valid. As French revisionist scholar Robert Faurisson has noted, neither Dwight Eisenhower in his 559-page World War II memoir, *Crusade in Europe*, nor Winston Churchill in his six-volume history, *The Second World War* (4,448 pages), nor Charles de Gaulle in his three volume *Mémoires de guerre* (2,054 pages), makes a single mention of Nazi "gas chambers," or of a "genocide" of the Jews, or of "six million" Jewish victims of the war. (See "The Detail," by R. Faurisson, also in the March-April 1998 *Journal.*)

What is "notorious" is not Le Pen's remark about gas chambers, but rather that he was brought before a court and punished for having made it (and on the basis of an Orwellian French law), and that the media misrepresents, without censure, what he actually said.

Weber Speaks on Jewish Power at IHR Meeting in Virginia

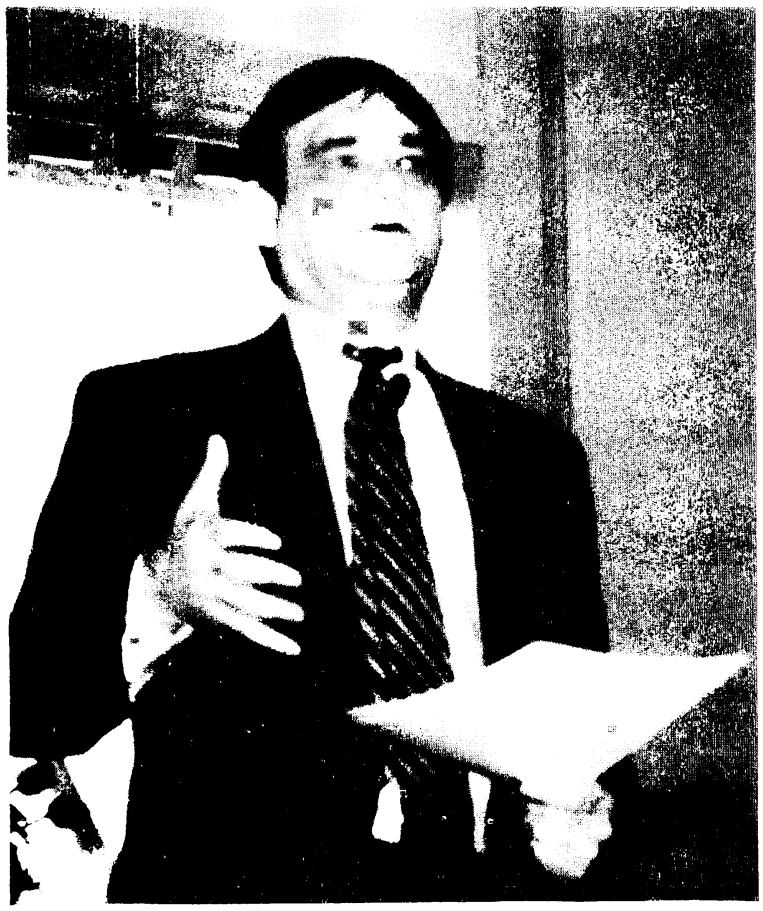
At a special Institute for Historical Review meeting in Arlington, Virginia, on Saturday, March 2, 2002, IHR director Mark Weber traced the rise of Jewish power in the United States over the past 60 years and emphasized the immense power and influence today of Jews in America's political, cultural, intellectual and economic life.

Among the 38 men and women who attended this meeting — the first IHR event in years in the Washington, DC, area — were two nationally prominent writers, several attorneys and other professionals, and a gratifying number of younger people.

Although Jews make up no more than three or four percent of the total U.S. population, said Weber, they now wield greater power than any other single ethnic, racial or religious group. In this regard he cited a private conversation in 1972 between President Richard Nixon and the prominent religious leader Billy Graham, which had just been made public, during which the two agreed that Jews have a "stranglehold" on the U.S. media, and that as a result "the country's going down the drain."

In his lecture, entitled "Jewish Power: Its Meaning for America and the World," Weber said:

> The most direct and obvious victims of Jewish-Zionist power are, of course, the Palestinians who live under Israel's harsh rule. But as the IHR has made clear for years, in truth we Americans are also victims — through the Jewish-Zionist grip on the media, and the organized Jewish-Zionist corruption of our political system. We are pressured, cajoled, flattered, and deceived into propping up the Jewish state, providing it with billions of dollars yearly and state-of-the-art weaponry, and even sacrificing American lives — as in Israel's 1967 attack on the "USS Liberty" — thereby making us accomplices of its crimes.
>
> The truth is that if we held Israel to the same standards that we apply to Serbia, Afghanistan



Mark Weber addresses an IHR meeting in northern Virginia, March 2, 2002. (Photo courtesy of Fisheye Photo Service)

> and Iraq, U.S. bombers and missiles would be blasting Tel Aviv, and we'd be putting Israeli prime minister Sharon behind bars for war crimes and crimes against humanity.

"Today the danger is greater than it's been in many years," said Weber. "Just the other week the French ambassador in London, Daniel Bernard, privately acknowledged that Israel — which he called 'that shitty little country' — is threatening world peace. 'Why should the world be in danger of World War III because of those people?,' Bernard bluntly said. Influential Jewish organizations and political figures, and much of the Jewish-dominated media, in collaboration with Israel's leaders, and backed by this country's pro-Zionist 'amen corner,' are now prodding our country into new wars against Israel's enemies."

Throughout history, said Weber, Jews have time and again wielded great power to further group interests that are separate from, and often contrary to, those of the non-Jewish populations among whom they live. This creates an inherently unjust and unstable situation that, as history shows, never lasts. As Weber put it: "We are today witnessing, and enduring, merely the most recent enactment of a great and tragic historical drama that has, through the centuries, played itself *out time* and time again, in country after country, in different cultures and ages."

Weber also spoke about the Institute's work and impact in recent years, including the international attention generated by the IHR's role in last year's revisionist conference in Beirut, which was canceled by Lebanese authorities under pressure from the US government and Zionist organizations. He also reported on preparations for the 14th IHR Conference in southern California, June 21-23.

Jewish Militants Arrested in Bomb Plot

Two members of the Jewish Defense League, a militant Zionist group with a long record of terrorist activities, were arrested on Dec. 11, 2001, on suspicion that they were preparing to blow up a Los Angeles mosque and the office of an Arab-American congressman. Irv Rubin, 56, JDL chairman, and Earl Krugel, 59, another JDL activist, were arrested after "explosive powder," the last component of a bomb, was delivered to Krugel's residence, a federal prosecutor said. Other bomb components were seized at Krugel's home. The two are accused of preparing to attack the King Fahd Mosque in Los Angeles and the office of U.S. Representative Darrell Issa (R.-Calif.), a grandson of Lebanese immigrants. They have been held in custody pending their trial, which is likely to begin in October 2002.

In 1985 the FBI identified the JDL as "the second most active terrorist group in the United States," linking it to 37 terrorist attacks carried out from 1977 to 1984. (*Orange County Register*, Nov. 19, 1985). Another federal agency, the Department of Energy, similarly characterized the JDL in a 1986 report: "For more than a decade, the Jewish Defense League (JDL) has been one of the most active terrorist groups in the United States." In 1987 the FBI announced that Jewish extremist groups had carried out 24 terrorist acts from 1981 through 1986, 17 of which were the work of the JDL.

The Institute for Historical Review, a dissident history research and publishing center based in southern California, was a target of systematic JDL violence and harassment during the early 1980s. The attacks included a drive-by shooting, three firebombings, van-

dalization of IHR employee-owned vehicles, 22 slashings of tires of employee automobiles, demonstrations outside the IHR office, and numerous telephone threats.

This campaign culminated in a devastating arson attack on the Institute's offices and warehouse in Torrance in the early morning hours of July 4, 1984. Damage was estimated at $400,000. Two days later, JDL leader Rubin showed up at the site of the gutted IHR offices publicly to praise the fire-bombing. The JDL, he declared, "wholeheartedly applauds the recent devastation of the offices of the Institute for Historical review." Denying any personal responsibility himself, Rubin said that the arson had been carried out by a former JDL activist named Larry Winston (Joel Cohen). No one was ever arrested in connection with this crime.

In February 1989, JDL intimidation forced the cancellation at two hotel sites in southern California of a three-day IHR conference. The meeting was successfully held at a makeshift alternate site, in spite of further harassment by a handful of JDL thugs led by Rubin.

In a statement issued following the Dec. 2001 arrest of Rubin and Krugel, the IHR expressed the hope that the two will be prosecuted to the full extent of the law, especially during this time of heightened awareness of the dangers of terrorism.

Further information about Rubin and the JDL can be found in "The Zionist Terror Network," a detailed IHR report that is posted on the "Books On-Line" section of the IHR web site.

State Department Acknowledges Pressure on Lebanon to Cancel Revisionist Meeting

The State Department has finally acknowledged that the United States government pressured Lebanon to ban a peaceful four-day meeting that was to be held in Beirut in the spring of 2001.

Gregg Sullivan, a spokesman for the Department's Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs, confirmed during telephone conversations with IHR director Mark Weber on December 10 and 11, 2001, that the State Department had told the Lebanese government earlier this year that "it would not be in the best interests" of the country to allow the "Revisionism and Zionism" conference to take place as scheduled, March 31 through April 3, 2001, because to do so would be "perceived badly internationally." The closely watched meeting was organized by the Swiss revisionist organization Vérité et Justice, in cooperation with the California-based Institute for Historical Review.

Shortly before the four-day conference was to begin, Lebanon's prime minister announced that it would not be permitted to take place. The cancellation followed public demands by three major Jewish organizations — the World Jewish Congress, the Anti-Defamation League, and the Simon Wiesenthal Center — that Lebanese authorities ban the meeting.

When asked to explain why the meeting would be "perceived badly," Sullivan said that conference speakers would have endorsed "terrorist aims" and "unilateral" or "extremist" solutions to the Middle East conflict. He added that the U.S. government opposes any "unilateral solution."

Weber responded by telling Sullivan that, to the best of his knowledge, none of the conference speakers would have expressed support for "terrorist aims." There is simply no basis for this charge, said Weber. This assertion is all the more remarkable considering that the conference presentations, and even the identities of several of the speakers, were not made public.

When Sullivan was pressed to provide evidence for the his assertions, he was unable or unwilling to do so.

In a letter to the State Department official, Weber wrote:

> I suspect that you have no such evidence. I further suspect that the U.S. government asked Lebanon to ban this meeting in deference to Jewish-Zionist organizations and the Israeli government.
>
> In our view, it is outrageous and arrogant for the U.S. government to tell the government of a friendly foreign country to ban a peaceful, legal meeting — one that, by the way, would be perfectly legal in our own country. As you must know, many meetings similar to the one scheduled to take place in Beirut have been held over the years in the United States.
>
> Imagine the response in Washington if the Mexican government was to tell American authorities to ban a meeting in San Diego because it didn't like what some of the scheduled speakers might say. We would indignantly tell the Mexicans to mind their own business, pointing out that our citizens are free to express views that foreign governments, and our own government, do not approve.

> We do not believe that the U.S. government should uphold one standard of free speech for the United States, while pressing for another, inferior one, for Arab countries.

The State Department campaign to pressure Lebanon was first revealed by the Lebanese daily *As Safir*, March 3, 2001. The Beirut paper's Washington, DC, correspondent reported:

> The American government desires of Lebanon that it prohibit convening a conference in Beirut of groups and organizations that deny that the Nazi "Holocaust" against the Jews occurred. It expressed its concern over the negative effects such a conference would have, not only on the reputation of Lebanon abroad, but also over the effects it might have on the attitude of Congress toward Lebanon and the aid it will grant it.
>
> This has appeared at the same time that several American Jewish organizations demanded that the Lebanese government prohibit the convening of the conference, whose sponsors these organizations accused of being racist and anti-Semitic.
>
> Informed American sources have told *As Safir* that Washington informed Lebanon of this position via its ambassador, David Satterfield in Beirut, and in communication with the Lebanese ambassador in Washington, Farid Abboud. Sources in Congress have also conveyed their reservations about the conference to the Lebanese government.
>
> American officials say that Iran and "Hezbollah" in Lebanon are behind the organization of the conference, although they say that they have no firm proof of that. They add that if Lebanon cannot prohibit the conference on the grounds of freedom of expression — particularly since similar conferences have been held in America and the authorities could not ban them — then Lebanon must at least declare that it has no connection with the conference. American uneasiness over the conference stems from the content of the conference as well as from its timing — coinciding as it does with an explosion of the situation between the Palestinians and Israelis and the tension that the region as a whole is experiencing.

The U.S. pressure campaign was also confirmed by the *Forward*, a well-informed, nationally circulated Jewish weekly. "The Lebanese government called off the event under pressure from American diplomats and the Simon Wiesenthal Center," reported the New York paper in a front page article, Nov. 23, 2001.

Detailed information about the "Revisionism *and* Zionism" conference and the Jewish campaign to ban it is posted on the "Conferences" section of the *IHR* web site.

Where are the Missing 'Six Million'? If Hitler Didn't Kill Europe's Jews, What Happened to Them?

In this masterly, unprecedented and, so far, unique demographic study, a qualified specialist shows what happened to Europe's Jews under Hitler and during the Second World War. *The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry* provides the best accounting available of the actual fate of the "Six Million."

Carefully analyzes the (often fragmentary) census data and the extraordinary population displacements that occurred before, during and after the war, which involved great migrations and deportations of Jewish refugees into Soviet Russia and Ukraine, North and South America, and Palestine.

This study establishes that there never were "six million" Jews under German control at any time. It shows, for example, that the great majority of Jews in the Soviet territories occupied by the Germans, 1941-1944, and who are widely assumed to have perished as "victims of the Holocaust," were actually evacuated or fled – and never came under German rule.

Based on a wide range of sources, including publications of the Institute for Jewish Affairs and such reference works as the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* and the *American Jewish Year Book*, as well as contemporary European periodicals and wartime German documents.

In his foreword, Northwestern University Prof. Arthur R. Butz calls this "the first full length serious study of World War II-related Jewish population changes ... This book presents the fundamentally correct account of the subject. The perfect antidote to the vulgar idiocies that are today monotonously peddled by the media ..."

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My Revisionist Method

ROBERT FAURISSON

I'm not accustomed to receiving compliments and congratulations in my country, *douce France.*[1] Only a few days ago, in *Le Figaro* [May 26, 2000], one Gérard Slama wrote that I was "the past master at the art of blackmailing scientific truth." Recently, on the front page of *Le Monde des Lettres* [March 24, 2000], I read the following characterization of me by Pierre Vidal-Naquet:[2] "In the presence of the lie, of which Faurisson is the purest expression, one feels a kind of peculiarly philosophical giddiness." I hope that you will not feel giddy.

Yet there is also good news from France, in particular, the publication of a book by a young lady named Valérie Igounet. Her *Histoire du négationnisme en France*[3] (Paris: Le Seuil, 2000), which is seven hundred pages long, grew out of a doctoral thesis. It is totally against us revisionists — but we are quoted so often that one could say the book is a good introduction for a layman who would like to know what revisionists have to say. Perhaps she should be prosecuted for that.

The book ends with an astonishing interview with Holocaust researcher Jean-Claude Pressac. As you know, he is the darling of the Klarsfelds, Pierre Vidal-Naquet, and their like. But what is he saying here? Surprisingly enough, he seems to be more or less abandoning exterminationism. Pressac states that the exterminationist position is "rotten" [in French, *pourri*]. "There are too many lies" — not Jewish lies, according to Pressac, but *Communist* lies. He asks, "Can things be put right?," and answers: "It is too late." Pressac declares that there is no longer any future for the "official certainties."

Perhaps we have converted Pressac. If so, perhaps it's because in May 1995 I asked the court to order Pressac to testify at one of my many trials. Foolishly enough, he came. I was barred from questioning him, so I coached my attorney. I wanted to simplify things for him, so I told him: "You need to ask him only two questions." The first: "You recently published a book called *Les Crématoires d'Auschwitz: La Machinerie du Meurtre de Masse*[4] that contained sixty illustrations: photos, drawings, etc. Can you show us a photo or a drawing of a gas chamber?" Pressac of course could not. Then he was asked, "What is a gas chamber? Please describe one." Pressac, as usual, talked at length about ventilation and ventilators. He so lost his way that the presiding judge, a lady, tried to help him out, observing, "But, Mr. Pressac, a ventilator is supposed to ventilate." I can tell you because I had a good seat (under the circumstances). I could see that Pressac was about to cry. He said to the three judges, "You must understand that I have only one life. You must understand that I am alone in my battle." So, you see, some things are chang-

---

Robert Faurisson is Europe's foremost Holocaust revisionist scholar. Born in 1929, educated at the Sorbonne, Professor Faurisson taught at the University of Lyon from 1974 until 1990. Specializing in close textual analysis, Faurisson won widespread acclaim for his studies of texts by Rimbaud and Lautréamont. After years of private research and study, Faurisson revealed his skepticism of the "Holocaust" gas chambers in articles published in 1978 and 1979 in the French daily *Le Monde*. He has written numerous articles on all aspects of the "Holocaust," many of which have appeared in this journal. A four-volume collection of many of his revisionist writings, *Écrits Révisionnistes* (1974-1998), was published in 1999.

This essay is adapted from his address, May 29, 2000, at the 13th IHR Conference, Irvine, California.

ing. Now, directly to my lecture.

I know that those of you who have attended previous IHR conferences would be disappointed if a Faurisson lecture were not in three parts. This one will be in three parts. The first part will be on my revisionist method in literature, for I was a revisionist in literature before I was a historical revisionist. Perhaps you will be a little bewildered, especially those of you who don't know French literature. Have no fear: I'll make it easy. Second, my revisionist method in history — and not only on "the Holocaust." In the third part, I'll suggest several new investigations, investigations I can no longer undertake, but which might be carried out by a new generation of revisionists. I will suggest new types and methods of research into, first, the Anne Frank diary; second, the Einsatzgruppen problem; next, the fate of children in Auschwitz; fourth, the "brown Jews," as we in France refer to those Jews who collaborated with the Germans during the war; and fifth, the writing and publication of a counter-guide to the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum.

My Revisionist Method

Revisionism is not an ideology. It is a method of working. It is the process of checking, and double-checking, views which are generally accepted. One may revise in any field, in physics, in history, wherever, but there are different ways of practicing the revisionist method. Your revisionist method depends on you, your character, and your education. I won't tell you that mine is the best possible method, but I shall try to describe my method, for which I had special training, and a special education.

I have searched for adjectives to describe this method. Here is what I have found: it is a method that is classical, direct, bold, daring, and severe — very severe. It is matter of fact. Sometimes I use the expression "nuts and bolts revisionism." My method rejects big words. Be simple, which is so difficult. Go directly to the center of the center of the question, and try first to bring me the pudding. I don't want words. I'm going to taste the pudding, but first, bring me the pudding — meaning no intellectual pretensions and no pedantry.

You may have noticed that I have used the word "method." I didn't say "methodology." In December 1998 I testified in Toronto at the trial of my dearest friend, Ernst Zündel. A Jewish lawyer asked me, "The professor who testified on Ernst Zündel and his writings explained his methodology to us. What is your methodology, Mr. Faurisson?" My answer was, "I have none." You should have seen the lawyer's smile. He was so pleased. Here we had a professor — but he had no methodology! I said, "I have only a method. I believe I have noticed that, very often, people use the word 'methodology' as a pretentious substitute for method." When I returned to France, I opened my cherished *American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language.* I looked up "methodology," and there I found, in a usage note: "Increasingly used as a pretentious substitute for method." I sent a photocopy to the lawyer, and to both the judges (an odd trial that has two judges!).

My method is difficult, and risky — sometimes even physically — for it requires that sometimes I must enter places where I am unwelcome, and ask some hard questions. Employing my revisionist method may earn you a slap in the face or a trip to jail. But you can't be bashful when investigating historical problems. You can't limit yourself to paper and archives — something which is very easy to do.

At times you have to confront people face to face, as I did Anne Frank's father in his home, or Michael Berenbaum in his office at the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum. Berenbaum has recently written the foreword to a very weighty book, a copy of which a friend of Ernst Zündel has given me. I'm holding it up for the camera: *The Holocaust Chronicle*.[5] Listen: the sound of emptiness.

Berenbaum's problem is that he's writing books which are thicker and thicker — and while they demand more and more muscles, they require less and less brains. Try to find a gas chamber in here! There are hundreds of photos. Here is one, you will observe, that shows two walls. It is the Dachau gas chamber, "never used" (as has been admitted since1960 and is stated on a placard at the Dachau museum) except that, elsewhere in the book (on page 609), we are told that it *was* used, just a little bit ("... relatively few of the inmates of Dachau were gassed"). Here's another one, another photo, of the Belzec gas chamber. But ... oops! It's really a picture of the gas chamber in Auschwitz I, which, as we now know, is a fake.

My Revisionist Method in Literature

I began to study Latin in 1939, when I was ten years old. When I was twelve, I began the study of Greek. I think that it was then that I began to be a revisionist. I'll tell you why. I loved Latin and Greek, but mastering them was very demanding. To translate Latin into French or English is difficult; translating Greek into French or English is more so; but most difficult of all is

to translate French or English into either Latin or Greek.

Translating French into Latin and Greek taught me a painful truth: we are unable to read even our own languages carefully. We think that we can, yet we cannot. It is only when one is forced to translate his own language into another that he realizes that he has not been reading with care. Reading carefully is something that is very difficult to do. I believe that if you really want to understand something, you should put it into a language that is quite different from your own: Latin, or Greek, or Hebrew, or Chinese. Thanks to my study of Latin and Greek, I had much practice at this.

When I began teaching French literature, I had difficulty at first. In France, the practice is to assign one's students a short text to explain and to comment on. Instructors are required to provide several questions to aid the students in understanding the text. I, too, did this, at the beginning. I obeyed. One day it dawned on me that the questions were distracting my students from concentrating on the careful reading of the text itself, and I decided that I would no longer assign them the questions. I would ask them only to explain the text, and tell them not to comment on it.

My method of teaching literature was not without its perils for my students. I would tell them: "When you study a text, strive to understand its meaning. Read carefully. And now I will tell you something difficult: to accept at the start that there is either *one* meaning, or there is *no* meaning. Do not confuse meaning with commentary." I taught them a kind of technique. I would say "You must read the text, and forget the author. The author of every text will be *auctor ignotus*" [author unknown]. This way, you will have no preconceptions. Beware the title: the author uses it to influence you. It is just as if the author said, "This is pure orange juice," and you tested it, and it wasn't pure orange juice. And I told my classes to treat poetry exactly as if it were prose, which is almost a crime in France.

In France, as you know, we have a very sophisticated intelligentsia. They have devised all manner of theories, one of which is this: When it comes to poetry which is complex, like that of Gérard de Nerval, Arthur Rimbaud, Charles Baudelaire, Lautréamont, Apollinaire, and Paul Valéry, one must not try to understand it. Given my nature, however, I wanted to understand their poetry, line by line, word by word. I would sometimes spend (or waste) weeks on a short text — a difficult text — by Gérard de Nerval. Perhaps my method was good, because I often got results.

In the 1960s I made a name for myself in French literature. I had a wonderful life. I once wrote that my life was in four parts: The first one was my family — my wife, my three children — and the pleasures of life. The second was my profession, teaching. The third was my research in literature. The fourth part, as you can imagine, was my historical research. Perhaps I should have stopped at the third part, and not ventured into this troublesome fourth part, but I became a revisionist in history, as well.

Robert Faurisson addresses the 13th IHR Conference, May 29, 2000.

My Revisionist Method in History

I shall discuss my method in history at more length. I began by using a very precise method of interrogation to investigate the "Bloody Summer" of 1944, which in France we call the "Big Purge" ("L'Épuration"). As with my approach to poetry, I tried to concentrate my efforts, focusing on a small area of France. I sought to study the question of the executions carried out by the *maquis* (or French resistance). It was difficult and dangerous work. I had to find and question men who had been on the firing squads, and ask them, "Why did you take part? How were you able to?" It is a very trying way of working. You need to go see the sites where the executions took place. You have to get the names of the firing squad right. At that time, in the sixties, people were very afraid, especially of the Communists. But I investigated executions by the resistance, and I wrote about my findings.[6] You must remember that we are told that

during the war there were "resistants" in France. We hear of "resistants" and "collaborators." I say that there were *two* kinds of resistants during the war: resistants to the German occupation, and resistants to Communist terror.

I now come to the "Holocaust." How did I proceed? I had heard people say that there were gas chambers. Others said, even back then, that there had been no gas chambers. What method of revising history was in accord with my nature, myself? It was to say: "Very well, I see that people are arguing over whether the gas chambers existed, but, a simple question, please: 'What is a Nazi gas chamber? I need to see one.'"

So I went to Paris, to the Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine. I remember the archivist asking me what I wanted. I told him, "A photo of a Nazi gas chamber." The man said "We have many books." I said, "A photo." He continued, "We have many testimonies." I said, "A photo." "We have many documents." I said, "A photo." Then he summoned Mrs. Imbert (I remember her name): "Come in. This gentleman wants a photo of a Nazi gas chamber." I swear to you she said, "We have many testimonies." The archivist, exasperated, told her, "But this gentleman wants a photo." I was told to sit down. I sat there for sixty minutes. That poor woman rifled the shelves, opening book after book without success. At last she brought me a photo known to everybody, of the helmeted American soldier standing in front of the disinfestation gas chambers in Dachau, and similar pictures. I thought to myself, "There's a problem here."

My method's directness lies in going to the *center of the center*: even a Jewish documentation center. The so-called Jewish Documentation Center in Paris had a file called "Extermination Gassings." I said, "I'm in luck! The most substantial of the accusations against Germany must be in here. I'll start with the strongest ones." Well, I went through the strongest accusations of gassing, and I found precisely nothing.

I decided to visit the places said to have had gas chambers. First I visited Struthof-Natzweiler, near Strasbourg, and I discovered that the "gas chamber" there was not a gas chamber at all, despite prominent signs that read: "Gas Chamber." No sooner had I published the results of my inquiry than the "gas chamber" was closed to the public. Try and visit it! The "Gas Chamber" signs are still up, but visitors are told, "We cannot let you see it because there have been instances of vandalism," which is untrue (and in any case hardly an acceptable explanation).

When I visited Majdanek, I headed immediately to the site where the gas chamber is supposed to have been. This building still bears a prominent sign, put up by the German authorities who ran the camp, which reads: "Bad und Desinfektion [bath and disinfection]." I thought to myself, "Inside this building I will either find 'Bad und Desinfektion,' period, or 'Bad und Desinfektion' and something else suspicious." What I found was nothing more than "Bad und Desinfektion," including something quite characteristic: a little stove, close to the so-called "gas chamber," for disinfection (for heating the air to speed the delousing process) and, in the middle of the door, a place for a thermometer. As you see, my method is not too dissimilar from the way the police investigate a crime.

I visited Auschwitz, Treblinka, and similar places. In each of them I found a disappearing gas chamber. No sooner than I drew near, the gas chamber would vanish. I would never put questions to the guides. As we all know, these poor people are reciting a lesson. Each time I visited a camp, I would ask to speak to an expert, from whom I would then request an explanation of the missing gas chamber. I never received one.

As a result I published an article in the newspaper *Le Monde* on December 29, 1978, and a letter there on January 16, 1979. I asked simple questions (always be simple): How was it possible to enter a gas chamber to collect the bodies, because that would have been like entering an ocean of hydrocyanic acid? How could the workers have handled the bodies, because touching even the skin could poison them? What about the physical exertion in removing the bodies — we know that one must not strain even to open a window in a place that has just been disinfected with hydrocyanic acid, because breathing faster will increase the chance of being poisoned?" All I asked was: "How could that be done? Tell me. Give me an explanation that makes sense technically." Do you know how Pierre Vidal-Naquet, Léon Poliakov, and thirty-two other historians answered my questions? They had a marvelous response, which they published in *Le Monde* on February 21, 1979. They wrote, "One must not ask how, technically, such a mass murder was possible. It was possible technically because it took place."

Perhaps I should have left off, should have said: "Very well, they can't answer me. I'll just wait for their answer." I don't know why I kept on battling and battling. I was the first to publish the plans of the alleged gas chambers. It was the other side that should have published them.

On January 19, 1995, I had the shock of my life — and I've had many. When I opened the weekly maga-

zine *L'Express*, I found a long article by Eric Conan, a historian who is totally against us. It was titled "Auschwitz: La Mémoire du Mal" ["Auschwitz: The Memory of Evil"]. There, on page 68, I read these words on the gas chamber in Auschwitz I: "Everything in it is false." Conan wrote in the same article about what he himself calls "falsifications": "It was easy for Faurisson to say that, all the more so because the authorities of the museum balked at responding to him." So, there it was. All along it was I who was supposed to have been the falsifier. The exterminationists were supposed to be telling the truth. Then, in 1995, an orthodox historian declares: "Faurisson was right," but adds, in effect: "So what?"

Visiting a site can yield another effective argument, one that, surprisingly, not even Fred Leuchter advanced. If you wish to show that the output claimed for the German ovens was impossible technically, you can do something simple. You don't need to write two hundred pages. Just go and see a crematory. Find out the output of today's crematory ovens, and compare that output with those alleged for Auschwitz, nearly sixty years ago. You can do the same thing to investigate a gas chamber. Go and visit an American gas chamber. Why not do it, you Americans? You would see how complicated it is to gas just one person. Now, of course, we know that certain aspects of a formal execution are something of a luxury. Just imagine how it was in 1924, when, for the first time, an execution by gas was carried out in the United States. You will see how awfully complicated a gassing needs to be, even today. You need only juxtapose an actual gas chamber at an American penitentiary, on the one hand, with a so-called Nazi gas chamber, on the other. You'll see that conducting a gassing in the alleged gas chambers of the Nazis would have been impossible.

Confrontation

Not only do you need to inspect the sites, you have to talk to people. Just as I did, you've got to go where the danger is. In 1994 I dropped in on Michael Berenbaum, at that time research director of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum. After I had toured the exhibit with two American friends, I phoned Michael Berenbaum from the lobby. I told him over the phone, "My name is Robert Faurisson. I would like to visit you." Berenbaum answered unhesitatingly: "It's a quarter to four. That means that at a quarter past four you will be in my office." It was as if he had been waiting all year for me!

As I entered his office, I saw not only Berenbaum, but two gentlemen on a sofa. They were the directors of the museum. I was flanked left and right by my own witnesses. Berenbaum asked, "So, what are your questions?" I told him, "Downstairs, in the guest book, I wrote 'I have visited this place on August 30, 1994. [I love dates.] I have not found an answer to my challenge: 'Show me or draw me a Nazi gas chamber.'" (Although I knew there was a mock-up of a gas chamber in the museum, I wanted to hear Berenbaum tell me that it was a good mock-up. I knew he wouldn't.) He asked me, "Why should I answer your questions? Whom do you have on your side? Ernst Zündel. Bradley Smith. You should know that in the past year we have had two million visitors. So, who are you?" I said "You must answer my question in the guest book." He replied, "I don't see why." Suddenly I had an inspiration. I told him, "Yes, you are obliged to answer, because you are making an accusation against the Germans." For the first time in his life, I think, Berenbaum realized that he was accusing Germany simply by saying that the gas chambers had existed. I thought he was going to slap me in the face. Berenbaum became enraged, and for a minute I thought he would call security. I seem to recall that he stopped the tape recorder — and for the next hour I tortured the poor man.

A revisionist needs to be just a little bit sadistic. He must come back and say "Is this the tooth that hurts you?" "Yes." "Really? This one?" That's the way I've tried to conduct all my investigations.

Keep It Simple ...

When I was revising in literature, my model was Jean-François Champollion, the man who in 1822 deciphered Egyptian hieroglyphics. Champollion didn't rely on big words or grand theories. He simply tried, word by word, to understand. Do you know that before Champollion's success, there were many professors able to talk about those texts that they didn't understand? Of course, their explanations were always sublime. This text was an "invocation to the gods," that one to "the souls of whomever or whatever," and the like. After Champollion had deciphered the ancient Egyptian writing system, such texts would often turn out to be in reality lists of so many cows, so many goats, so many sheep. That's the way intellectuals come to work: always big ideas, always philosophy. I hate philosophy. I hate it because in fact I do not understand it.

My model for revisionism in history would be Sherlock Holmes. Like him, one must be courageous. And like Holmes, one must be very brief and to the point.

That is how I came up with my saying, "No holes, no holocaust," of which you have heard. Surprisingly, perhaps, I first stated that at our 1994 conference. I remember that nobody reacted at the time. No one seemed to understand, perhaps because of my poor English. Then, two or three years later, revisionists such as Dr. Robert Countess began pointing out, "But we have to be careful. Your formulation is very short." I can understand that objection. When something is very short, maybe it's *too* short. Complicated things, it seems, cannot be put in few words. I can well understand why people are careful and standoffish, but sometimes brevity is a good thing.

I think "No holes, no holocaust" was a good saying. Here's how I explain it. When you have a very big problem, you know that you cannot grasp the whole of it. That would be impossible. It's just too big. What must you do, then? You must go, courageously, to the center of the center of the core of it. The center of the "Holocaust" is Auschwitz. Auschwitz is its capital. Thus, we have a big circle which is "H," "Holocaust," then, inside it, a smaller circle: "A," as in "Auschwitz." Now, what is the center of Auschwitz? It is "C," the crematoria, each supposed to have contained a gas chamber to kill people. What is the center of "C"? It can only be the one crematorium that is claimed to be relatively intact, without being a "reconstruction." Today that is crematorium number two, at Auschwitz-Birkenau. To be sure, it was dynamited by the Germans (or possibly the Russians — it doesn't matter). Our opponents say: "This is the place." We have to travel, then, to crematorium II, and, once there, we must seek the very epicenter of the "Holocaust": the holes in the roof of the alleged gas chamber in crematorium II. For it is these holes through which the SS men are supposed to have dropped the Zyklon B pellets. Go to crematorium II. Search for those holes. You will not find a single one.

Yesterday Charles Provan gave me this pamphlet.[7] He's revising my revisionism, which is quite a good thing. Now I'm going to revise his revising of my revisionism. I'm sorry, but I haven't finished reading it, so I must be careful. But I'm going to give you my first impressions. I told Mr. Provan that I would say something about it.

I think that it's a good work. First, it is short. Unlike Berenbaum's books, it doesn't require strong muscles to hold it. So far as I can tell, it's well done. It is precise. Clearly some hard work went into it. Yet there is a bad mistake in the method of this study. To put it simply, you mustn't mix up the testimony with what you find on the site, that is, the physical evidence.

You began, Mr. Provan, with the testimony. But instead of separating the physical evidence for the supposed holes from the testimony, in your evaluation of the testimony you talk about what we are supposed to find at the location. That's mixing things up. To make a comparison, instead of bringing oil, then vinegar, to make vinaigrette, you first brought the vinaigrette, and here you are working very hard to try to distinguish oil from vinegar, which is too difficult, you see? More on that later. But Charles Provan has done real work, and we have to take it seriously.

Revisionist Methods for the Future

Now, on the revisionist method for a new generation. I must say that I was quite moved, when I arrived here, to see Germar Rudolf and Jürgen Graf working very hard together. This is the new generation. One of them, Germar Rudolf, is in exile. What a shame, far from his homeland, far from his career, his wife, and his two children! Jürgen Graf, from Switzerland, has been sentenced to jail for fifteen months. Isn't that a shame? But you should have seen the two of them. They were working joyfully, and working very hard. It is to people like this that I shall now speak, and outline several ideas for future investigations.

Let me begin with the Anne Frank diary. Perhaps you will remember that I visited Anne Frank's father, Otto Frank, in Basel, Switzerland in the 1970s. Like all conmen, he was quite charming, very charming indeed. Sometimes you'll hear people say, "But he was so charming. How could he have been a conman?" Conmen are always charming!

So I went to see Otto Frank. I like to look people in the eye. I told him that I had serious doubts about the authenticity of the Anne Frank diary. He said "That's quite all right. I am ready to answer your questions." I was fortunate that his (second) wife was present. (As you will see, she is important to the story.) Frank had said that he was prepared for my questions, but he was a bit like Michael Shermer, who interviewed me in 1994. Perhaps Otto Frank thought, as did Shermer, "Ah, a French intellectual. It's going to be very intellectual, with considerations on the psychology of a young girl, on the interaction among eight people living hidden in the same place, on political opinions about the Jews at that time, and so on."

Well, here I came, with my nuts and bolts revisionism. I said "Mr. Frank, you couldn't make any noise, even during the night. If you had to cough, you took codeine. There were eight of you in those tiny rooms.

surrounded by other rooms occupied by 'enemies,' in Amsterdam for two years. 'Enemies' were listening." "Yes," he agreed. "How is it, then, that sometimes the young man, Peter, is splitting wood in the attic to show off his strength to Anne? Can you imagine the noise? Peter even makes furniture, and every morning the alarm clock rings. There's the radio, the screams as the dentist [one of the eight] works on his patients, and so forth. How do you explain all that?" He had no explanation.

Next I asked him, "What about the garbage?" Listen to the French intellectual! "What about the garbage? You say that it was burned in the stove." "Yes." "But you moved in on June 12. You say you lit the stove for the first time on, I think, the twelfth or the fifteenth of October. So, during the summer, what about the garbage, and later what about the smoke? You were living in a place that was supposed to be unoccupied. But smoke, especially at night, means that someone is there. Take a look at smoke during the night." Otto Frank had no answer.

I asked the poor man many such questions. His wife would say, "Amazing! Yes, how did you manage?" Or, "How can that have been?" Suddenly, he told her, in German, "Maul zu [Shut up]!" I continued, and all at once Otto Frank had a stroke of genius. He told me "Mr. Faurisson, I agree with you a hundred percent. Scientifically, theoretically, it is impossible, but so it happened."

I told him, "Mr. Frank, you're making things difficult for me. If you'll agree with me that a door cannot be both open and shut at the same time, then we have no need for 'theoretically,' 'scientifically,' but if you go on to tell me that you have seen such a door with your own eyes, I'm going to have trouble with that. Please answer my questions." Of course, there was no answer.

The next day he brought me to a bank. It was the first time I had ever been in the vault of a Swiss bank, or of any bank. I saw the impressive safe deposit boxes, in which one can store money, jewelry, manuscripts. Otto Frank took out the manuscripts. He said, "See, here they are." We went back to his house to look at them. I said "Mr. Frank, I am not a handwriting specialist. I'm not interested in the manuscripts. What I want is for you to explain the story to me so that it holds up — but you can't." When I returned home from Basel, I drafted a report on the question of the diary, and made it available to a German friend who was having difficulties with the German courts for having expressed doubts about the authenticity of the diary.

A German judge ordered an analysis of the handwriting of the "Anne Frank" manuscripts. Here we revisionists must be careful. I often hear people say, "They discovered handwriting with a ball-point pen." Be careful! The report was totally inadequate. It concluded that everything in the manuscripts was written by the same hand. Remember that. The report stated that there was handwriting in ink from a ball-point pen, but it gave no specifics. We can't tell how much of it, in how many places, and so on. Therefore, be cautious about that German report.

Otto Heinrich Frank died in 1980. In 1986 a "critical edition" of the supposed diaries of Anne Frank was published in Amsterdam.[8] Over the next six years a German edition, a French edition, and an English edition appeared..Each of the four was nearly as thick as *The Holocaust Chronicle* (with Berenbaum's foreword), which I've showed you. People thought "Ah, this is the answer to Faurisson." The book even says so: "This is the answer to Faurisson."

Well, you should read what the editors say about Otto Frank. They all but call him a liar. I was right! At the end of this "critical edition" they write that Otto Frank ought never to have claimed that what he published was the actual diary of Anne Frank. Nevertheless, this "scholarly edition" is just a big bluff. They show you handwriting throughout, and they say "You see, it's the same." I don't see that it's the same, but I'm not a specialist, so I have to be careful. But my question wasn't about the handwriting. My question was: "Can you explain all the problems I have with the story?" Instead of answering me, at the beginning of the book one of the editors summarized his version of what I had written. It was obviously a caricature. Had I said stupid things, of course, they would have reported my exact words.

I advise you to be careful. The question of the handwriting of Anne Frank is what you call a "red herring." I would like someone who is able, and who is familiar with Dutch and German, to make a comparison by computer between the Anne Frank diary as it was published — the popular edition — and the *new* popular edition, edited by a woman named Mirjam Pressler. I myself had discovered two or three different Anne Franks. Now, if one were to make this kind of comparison today, I think we would be up to eight or ten Anne Franks.

Now, regarding the Einsatzgruppen: I think that this is the most important of my suggestions for future research. I would like to see work done on the specific topic of those Germans who were executed by the German army for killing Jews. Yes, in Marinka, a place in Russia, the mayor of the city killed one Jewish woman.

He was court-martialed by the German army, condemned to death, and executed. I have many such examples.

Field Marshals List, von Kuechler, von Manstein; General Otto Dessloch; Field Marshall von Kleist; General Kittel: each of these men ordered the execution of a German soldier, officer, or civil servant who had killed one or more Jews. How was that possible if there was a policy to exterminate physically the Jews? In my opinion, they should plant trees for von Manstein, List, von Kuechler, von Kleist, and Kittel on the Avenue of the Righteous Gentiles in Jerusalem. And why not one for Adolf Hitler? Hitler ordered the execution of persons who had killed Jews. This is the type of question that we revisionists should be researching.

I have no time to talk about the "brown Jews," the Jewish children at Auschwitz, and what I would call the "Counter Guide to the Holocaust Memorial Museum," a revisionist guided tour of the Museum.

Perhaps you have heard of my pessimism. I want to say a few words about that. For reasons I have no time to get into, I am rather pessimistic. Let me explain. On my first visit to this country, in 1979, my friend Gene Brugger greeted me at Kennedy Airport. Yesterday he reminded me that I was carrying a copy of Arthur Butz's *Hoax* and a tennis racquet. Gene, who is of German extraction, had a question for me. He said, "You are French. Why are you doing this for the Germans?" He tells me I answered, "It's not on behalf of the Germans. A bird sings. It can't help but sing, because that is in its nature. The bird can't help it. So, even a pessimistic bird must sing."

The other day, as I was leaving France, I received a phone call from Adrien, one of my grandchildren. He said "So, you are going away." I answered yes. "Where are you going?" "To the United States." "Why?" "I have work to do." He is very gentle with me, my grandson. He told me, "Now, grandfather, you should stop. You work day and night. You are very old. Very soon, you are going to die."

As you can see, I am still alive and well. And, although I am an old bird, I think that I am going to continue to sing.

Notes

1. "Douce" meaning gentle, or clement, from France's post-revolutionary traditions of openness to dissent and affording refuge for other countries' political and intellectual dissidents. [Ed.]
2. Professor Vidal-Naquet is a noted historian of ancient Greece, and one France's most vociferous defenders of the Holocaust claim. [Ed.]
3. Valérie Igounet, *Histoire du négationnisme en France* [History of Denialism in France] (Paris: Le Seuil, 2000).
4. Jean-Claude Pressac, *Les Crématoires d'Auschwitz: La Machinerie du Meurtre de Masse* [The Crematoria of Auschwitz: The Machinery of Mass Murder] (Paris: CNRS éditions, 1993).
5. Michael Berenbaum, introduction to *The Holocaust Chronicle: A History in Words and Pictures*, ed. David Aretha, pub. Louis Weber (Lincolnwood, Ill.: Publications International, 2000).
6. See Robert Faurisson's "A Dry Chronicle of the Purge: Summary Executions in Certain Communes of Charente Limousine," in the *Journal of Historical Review* 12, no. 1 (Spring 1992), pp. 5-30. [Ed.]
7. Charles D. Provan, *No Holes? No Holocaust? A Study of the Holes in the Roof of Leichenkeller 1 of Krematorium 2 at Birkenau* (Monongahela, Penn.: n.p., 2000). Also online at: http://www.revisingrevisionism.com/
8. *The Diary of Anne Frank: The Critical Edition*, prepared by the Netherlands State Institute for War Documentation, edited by David Barnouw and Gerrold van der Stromm, translated by Arnold J. Pomerans and B. M. Mooyart (New York: Doubleday), 1989.

Georgi K. Zhukov

From Moscow to Berlin

Marshal Zhukov's Greatest Battles

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'Reexamining Assumptions': An Interview with Tom Sunic

Tomislav Sunic was born in Zagreb, Croatia, in 1953. He studied French and English at the University of Zagreb before taking a Master's degree at California State University, Sacramento, in 1985. He received a doctorate in political science in 1988 from the University of California, Santa Barbara. He has taught at California State University, the University of California, and Juniata College in Pennsylvania. He is the author of several books, including *Against Democracy and Equality: The European New Right* (reviewed in the Sept.-Oct. 1994 *Journal*). Articles, reviews and essays by Sunic have appeared in a range of newspapers and journals, including *Chronicles*, *Le Monde*, the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, and *The Wall Street Journal*. He has been interviewed many times on radio and television, including CNN and "The McNeil-Lehrer News Hour." For a time he served as a diplomat with the Croatian foreign ministry. Currently he resides with his family in Croatia, where he works as a free lance writer. He is scheduled to address the 14th IHR conference, June 21-23, 2002, on the fate of ethnic Germans in communist Yugoslavia, 1945-53.

Q: What experiences have shaped your general outlook and career path?

A: I grew up in communist Yugoslavia, where I obtained my B.A. in literature and languages. But I think that never during my educational period did I take anything for granted: no ideology, no system, no belief, no sense of group victimhood. One needs not just to reexamine history; one must first reexamine his often self-serving assumptions. In liberal America and western Europe, to which I immigrated, I obtained a Ph.D. in political science, and in the United States I also worked as a professor. Later on, I lived and lectured all over Europe, and for a while worked as a Croatian diplomat.

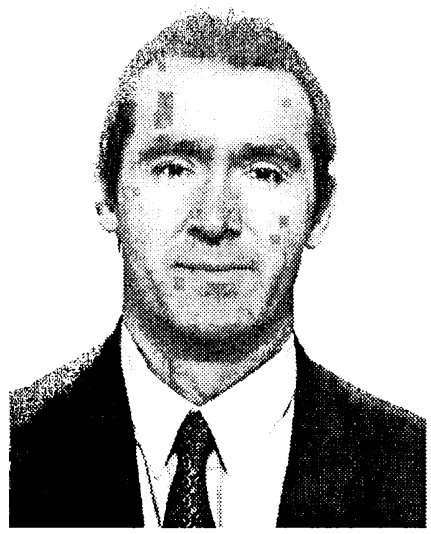
To be frank, my curricular period at schools and universities was largely a waste of time. What I was taught was mostly ideologically based drivel delivered by mediocre leftist academics — whether in Europe or in the United States, yet with remarkably similar egalitarian and freudo-marxophile affinities.

Q: The re-emergence of an independent Croatia in 1989-1991 from the ruins of Yugoslavia was seemingly a rebuke to the European order imposed after the First World War, and reaffirmed after the Second. Do you see the situation this way?

A: The emergence of an independent Croatian state, first in the wake of 1939-1941, and then in 1989-1991, was an incidental fallout of international disorder. For centuries a strong nationalist sentiment thrived among the Croat people, but it never took the form of a durable statehood. The Croatian state that emerged in 1991 filled the void left by the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the Soviet Union, backed by the strongly anti-Versailles policies of the late Croat president Franjo Tudjman.

Q: Has political independence from Yugoslavia been good for Croatia, and is it good for Europe?

A: Making value judgments about "good" or "bad" with regard to Croatian independence, or for that matter about any historical event, is irrelevant. Looking at history, I prefer as a method of analysis Vilfredo Pareto's cold, value-free disinterestedness. But anyway, haven't the ruling classes in the West over the last century repeatedly carried out punitive military strikes in the name of the myths of progress and human rights?



Tom Sunic

From the point of view of much-aspired economic benefit, Croatia's independence has proven to be a disappointment. Today, and since the death [in Dec. 1999] of President Tudjman, Croatia is an ungovernable, Western-sponsored entity in search of identity. The mass craving for quick entry into the "rich men's club" of the European Union did not materialize. On the other hand, and viewed from a transcendental, nationalist perspective, Croatia's independence in 1991 was perhaps an inevitable, self-fulfilling prophecy. Conversely: no multicultural entity — whether one speaks of the former Yugoslavia, the ex-Soviet Union, or today's South Africa (or, tomorrow, multicultural France and the USA?) — lasts for long, however seductive its promise of ecumenical harmony. Nightmare always lurks on the horizon. I think that the ruling class in the USA and the EU, each with its multiracial experimentation, will learn the tragic lesson of Yugoslavia.

Q: Croatia was an ally of Germany during the Second World War. What factors influenced that policy?

A: Geography is destiny. A major factor was that Croatia is geographically close to Germany. Suppose Jefferson or Washington had to fight the England of George III to secure the independence of a country the size of Scotland or Belgium? They would have failed, and today nobody would even know their names. America's distance from Britain was a tremendous advantage for those who worked for independence. Space helps.

Another factor was that for centuries Croatia was part of the larger, yet truly European, multicultural Austro-Hungarian Empire. Moreover, its cultural and perhaps even ethnic survival during the Turkish onslaught in the 17th century must be credited to the geographically proximate Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation.

Now, in hindsight, and given the disastrous legacy of European mini-statehoods and intra-European nationalist bickering, one may regret the passing of that supra-national imperial age. Worse, the legacy of endless intra-European squabbles among Europe's various nation states now lends legitimacy to today's uprooted global plutocratic system. But, perhaps, if the Holy Roman Empire had been more durable, likely it would have sooner or later spawned its own mortal enemies.

Q: Croatia's World War II Ustashi regime is often accused of having committed terrible atrocities, even a campaign of virtual extermination, against Jews and Serbs, with the support of the nation's Catholic hierarchy. How valid are these accusations?

A: Facts and fiction are often intertwined in modern official history writing. And this is likewise true of every nation's political mythology. To endure and survive, every nation resorts to its own national mythical narrative, no matter how aberrant it may seem to historians and even future generations. Georges Sorel, the French thinker, understood and described that human trait.

With regard to Croatia's pro-fascist World War II regime, it's worth noting that some prominent figures in the regime were married to Jews — a point that even Hannah Arendt noted. One of the founding fathers of modern Croat nationalism in the late 19th century was Joseph Frank, a baptized Hungarian Jew. So influential was he that Ustashi followers were sometimes called "frankovci." All the same, in Croatia proper Jews played a very minor and negligible role. For centuries Croatia has been a deeply Roman Catholic country, and Catholicism and the Catholic clergy were closely intertwined with Croatian nationalism.

Serbs, by contrast, have tended to seek a negative legitimization in a national mythos of exaggerated victimhood. Through the Versailles peace treaty of 1919 they received a mandate to dominate the new Western-sponsored and multi-ethnic "Yugoslav" entity. Hence the justifiable anger of the Serbs over what they regard as abandonment and betrayal by their former allies — France, Britain and America — when Yugoslavia dissolved in 1991, and when those powers recognized Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia and Bosnia-Herzogovina. Unfortunately, no effort has been made by the Croat and Serb political and cultural elites, either of the left or the right, to jointly reexamine and cross examine

their respective historical roles, including the emotion-laden issue of casualties during and after World War II. The level of mutual suspicion is still enormous. Pseudo-historical mythology still thrives among the Balkan peoples, and very likely will generate yet another bloody but ultimately futile conflict.

Q: As commander of the Communist partisans during World War II, Tito (Josip Broz), who later ruled the reconstituted Yugoslavia for three and a half decades, was certainly involved in his own share of atrocities. Has there been any serious effort to hold Tito, who died in 1980, historically accountable for his misdeeds during and immediately after the war?

A: Tito fought with the Soviets and the Western Allied forces during the war, and was therefore on the victorious side in 1945. His role as a perpetrator of Balkans' "killing fields" in the aftermath of World War II was staggering, especially against Croats and ethnic Germans. Since then, and for obvious reasons, neither American nor European scholars or media, have conscientiously examined the violent Titoist and Yugoslav past, except in a passing fashion. The Hague Tribunal has been even less willing to take on the Titoist past. If it were to do so, many features of what we today regard as "international law," "ethnic cleansing," or for that matter modern history writing, would be exposed as a fraud.

Q: How strong is the desire among Croatians to refute, with historical facts, unfounded accusations of war crimes during the Second World War? If so, has that fostered an interest in the larger issues raised by historical revisionism, including the origins and outcome of the war, the Holocaust question, and so forth?

A: Franjo Tudjman, a communist turned Croatian nationalist, openly challenged some greater-Serbian, Yugoslav and Communist myths in his books. For his critical reassessment of World War II estimates of deaths in the Balkans, he was imprisoned during the communist era. In terms of free historical inquiry, Croatia is today probably more open than the countries of the European Union. But under pressure from various EU and U.S. interest groups, the country is now well on its way toward globalist "normalcy." Throughout European academe and media, the term "revisionism," due in part to its semantic imprecision, has now acquired a pejorative meaning, with an undertone of criminality. Many scholars refrain from open debate for fear of having their reputations attacked, including seeing their titles or expertise disparaged in quotation marks in hostile newspaper reports. Regardless of whether one agrees or disagrees with what revisionists write, when a country's judiciary, that is, its thought police, step in — as now happens in today's France and Germany — then freedom of speech becomes an empty phrase. What we see in the European Union today is the replica of the judicial mind control that I endured as a child in Titoist Yugoslavia — even though this thought control is implemented in today's EU in a much more sophisticated manner. I do not think that any freedom loving and tolerant man or woman is a priori trying to "deny" or "assert" anything. With the passage of time, some of our ardently held beliefs or conventional platitudes must inevitably be discarded. Historical events are inevitably bound to be reexamined within new time frames, and in perpetually new causal relationships.

For my part I have difficulty accepting the often-repeated claim by anti-communists of a hundred million victims of communist rule.

Moreover, so many millions could not have perished without the active or tacit collaboration of the vast majority of communized and scared citizens. To critically reexamine the communist "terror of all against all," one must read such scholars as Claude Polin, Alexander Zinoviev, and Ernst Nolte — men who are sometimes dubbed by the media as "revisionists," or worse, "right wingers."

I well understand the anger of Serb intellectuals over the negative Western media portrayal of the Serb role during the recent wars in the Balkans. Yet both Serb nationalists and leftists continue to cherish their cultic view of Serbs as victims of World War II Croat fascists. Possibly with the help of independent foreign scholars, the great Serbian icon of World War II victimhood might be brought down to size, and perhaps even exposed as yet another example of Balkan historical mythology.

Q: What is your view of the bloody conflicts in recent years in the former Yugoslavia, especially in Bosnia and Kosovo? Were those conflicts inevitable? What can be done to lessen the likelihood of similar conflicts in the future?

A: These conflicts, including those in Bosnia and Kosovo, appear, especially in hindsight, as futile and a terrible waste of life, property and time. But the root causes of the conflicts are to be found in the post-World War I Versailles settlement, the ideology of multiculturalism, and the various forms of political romanticism that have shaped our world.

Q: What lessons do you think the United States, and the world, can learn from the breakup of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia?

A: Putting different people together into larger, unnatural entities brings disaster. Mutual vilification and name calling eventually become the norm. Among the similarities between the former Soviet Union and present-day America is a comparably linear and static view of history. In the former Soviet Union the ruling elites and their scribes fostered an artificial social order with decrees and formulas. When people lose trust in their ruling class, they inevitably seek recourse in abstract laws and practices that hardly reflect the pulse of a nation. This is manifest in the ambiguity of the much vaunted liberal "rule of law" in today's America. For example, local and federal authorities in the USA naively seek to address the country's deep-rooted racial problems with ever more social engineering, "affirmative action," multiculturalism, and "integration." Or when the economy takes a turn for the worse, the call grows for even more deregulation and cutthroat market democracy. The results, as a rule, are contrary to those expected. Exactly the opposite is what should be done.

Q: The United States now seems to be the indisputably dominant power in today's world — militarily, culturally and politically. How permanent do you regard this hegemony, or do you see signs of fragility?

A: Contrary to the view held by many, especially in Europe, I do not think that America ever concocted a secret or conspiratorial plan for world hegemony. Every form of reductionism is a form of self-serving intellectual sloth. Even among those who embrace theories of alleged "dark forces" and "conspiratorial" elements, there is no unanimity. Historically, America has always stepped, sometimes on purpose, sometimes not, into geopolitical voids left by others. Let us leave aside whether this is good or bad. Probably it is bad, but here I am just trying to identify the process.

Europeans were incapable of stopping the recent bloodshed in the former Yugoslavia, and it is fortunate that the USA was able to do so. A similar analysis could be applied on the global level. When a nation, a race, or an individual gives up his civic courage and indulges in self-censorship or feigned guilt feelings, he signs his own death warrant. He then becomes easy prey even to an unarmed preacher, or some Oriental guru or Levantine messiah. Historical examples of this are plentiful. Those who are responsible for this state of affairs in the American and European educational systems, the media and public life today, are wealthy, spineless white European and U.S. elites, who while saluting freedom of thought and expression indulge in grotesque fawning and thought self-control. They will hardly elicit sympathy at the hands of tomorrow's enemy.

Q: What do you think are the most important misconceptions by Europeans of the United States and American history?

A: In many ways America, according to its founding fathers, was at the same time a rejection and a fulfillment of European dreams. I am sure that if Washington or Jefferson were to be resurrected today they would be dissidents in the country that uses and misuses their name. But which America are we talking about today anyway? A virtually vicarious, open-border, MTV America, or an America that is a remnant of the "deep south," or something else? Present-day Europe, both East and West, is a poorly mimicked replica of this double travesty of what, in my view, America should not be.

Q: What do you think are the most important misconceptions by Americans of Europe and European history?

A: Europe is far from being homogeneous. A strange complex of inferiority exists on both sides of the Atlantic. Many French and German intellectuals tend to ridicule America's alleged historical ignorance, but few of them have any deep understanding of what is happening even on the other side of the Rhine River. In fact, American thinkers have achieved some extraordinary insights, particularly in the realm of sociobiology, a field that is still widely ignored in Europe. What both Europe and America need is a true elite whose value system is based on non-materialistic foundations of a common Greco-Roman heritage, while avoiding tribal agendas with their suicidally destructive tendencies.

Q: In his new book, *The Death of the West*, Patrick Buchanan paints a grim and gloomy portrait of the future for Europe and European culture. Do you share his pessimism? What are the causes of this catastrophic situation, and what, if anything, can be done to reverse the trend?

A: I agree with Pat Buchanan. But unlike many conservatives, I tend to look critically at the root causes of the approaching death of the West. Was it not the Western millennium-long belief in one bizarre form of Oriental monotheism, that is, Christianity, along with its modern egalitarian derivatives, that have brought us today to our modern "love thy exotic neighbor" entropy, and self-hate? It seems to me that the only way

to stop the process of Western collective suicide is by discarding the ideology of progress, the myth of egalitarianism, and the theology of market democracy.

Q: How much do nations, or leaders, really "learn" from history?

A: They never do, because they never bother to learn. The linear concept of the "end of history," a currently fashionable notion that holds that liberal democracy is a final or a permanent form of social order, is a willful act of intellectual stupidity. History is always open to new deliriums and hoaxes, but it is also open to new rebirth. The great problem is that many fine people get killed in the process. I have no illusions about a static world. After all who says that even in a static paradise we would not experience, after a prolonged bliss, periods of boredom? The static "end of history" view reminds me of the "static poems" ("Statische Gedichte") by the German poet Gottfried Benn, who was punished by literary oblivion after World War II.

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Subversion of Science: How Psychology Lost Darwin

GLAYDE WHITNEY

Introduction

When real history is finally written, mainstream social sciences during most of the twentieth century will be exposed as consisting largely of ethnically motivated disinformation. Much has already been written about the subversion of American anthropology: the shift from legitimate science to ideological pap under the direction of the Jewish immigrant Franz Boas (Degler, 1991; MacDonald, 1998; Pearson, 1996). Much less has been written about how psychology was transformed from a branch of natural science into a section of the Marxist-influenced social sciences. In this paper I will provide information on the subversion of psychology, pointing out the role of Boas and others in the subversion of psychology.

To understand what happened to the social sciences in the twentieth century, it helps to first place it in the context of the on-going ideological and political war. In the sciences this has been strange war because it has been so one-sided. On one side are effective ideological warriors, well versed in persuasion techniques and ruthless in the pursuit of their agenda. On the other side have mostly been naive, non-political scientists engaged in an objective search for truth about the real world. What's worse is that many on the side of objective science have never even realized that a war was being waged. Viewing honesty as an essential first requirement and highest virtue in science, they naturally, but naively, have assumed that all those who call themselves scientists share these same values and objectives. Thus, at least in the short-term, honest science has been devastatingly out-gunned by adversaries who pursue very different objectives, and with a very different rulebook.

In this regard, I refer to two general commentaries about the cultural scene in America, and, by extension, in the West, that, in their titles, catch the flavor of the great transformation. One is entitled *It's a War, Stupid!*, written by David Horowitz, Peter Collier and J. P. Duberg (1997). Horowitz is one of America's most prolific "neo-conservative" writers. "Neo-conservatives" are mostly radical-left activists from the 1960s who have adopted a "conservatism" that is characterized particularly by militant support for Israel. Horowitz is a self-proclaimed "red diaper baby," raised in the Communist party atmosphere of New York City's Jewish community. *It's a War, Stupid!* makes the point that throughout the twentieth century, socialists waged a one-sided ideological war against traditional society. As in any war, truth is one of the first casualties. Howowitz's message is that many of traditionalism's

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Glayde Whitney (1939-2002), was a nationally renowned psychologist. At the time of his death, he was a full professor of psychology at Florida State University (Tallahassee), where he had taught for 31 years. This essay is adapted from his lecture on May 29, 2000, at the 13th Conference of the Institute for Historical Review, Irvine, Calif. Preparation for this paper was supported in part by a grant from the Pioneer Fund.

supporters never even realized what was going on. The title could just as aptly have been *Wake Up, Stupid!*

The other book is *America's 30 Years War: Who is Winning?*, by Balint Vazsonyi (1998). Vazsonyi escaped his native Hungary during the short-lived 1956 anti-Soviet revolution. Having lived under two socialist totalitarian regimes, the Nazi and the Soviet, he is personally familiar with the tactics of each. In his book, his main concern is that socialism is slowly transforming America. While the media happily tells us that the collapse of the Soviet Union marks the end of the Cold War, in fact the international socialists are winning a worldwide ideological war. Vazsonyi identifies four American founding principles — rule of law; individual rights; guarantee of personal property; and a shared cultural identity — that, he says, are rooted in this country's unique English, Anglo-Saxon heritage. These basic principles, he warns, are slowly being replaced by socialism. Thus, we today have government-mandated group rights, government controlled redistribution of property, and divisive multiculturalism.

It wasn't always that way.

Glayde Whitney addresses the 13th IHR Conference.

Early Darwinian Psychology

At the beginning of psychology as a science there was Darwin. In 1844 Charles Darwin (Desmond & Moore, 1991) penned a 230-page manuscript outlining his basic theory. It was never published, although Darwin instructed his wife to have it published in case he died. In 1859 his theory was presented to the public in what Darwin described as a "short abstract" — it was 490 pages of text — entitled *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection Or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life.* The essential features of this the theory are three straightforward notions. First, Differences: individual differences in many traits. Second, Heredity: the individual differences were to some extent inherited. And, third, Selection: the individually different heritable traits could contribute to differential success in the struggle for life. If the most successful types in this struggle for life differ from the average, if superior survivors had more or less of certain traits, then a species could change, that is evolve, under the pressure of natural selection.

In the *Origin of Species* Darwin almost completely avoided mention of man. Indeed the only comment on man is a brief passage near the end: "In the distant future I see open fields for far more important researches. Psychology will be based on a new foundation, that of the necessary acquirement of each mental power and capacity by gradation. Light will be thrown on the origin of man and his history." (Darwin, 1859, p. 458, 1st edition).

It was Sir Francis Galton (Whitney, 1990), Darwin's half-cousin, who immediately pursued the implications for psychology. Galton was one of the many scientists who, upon exposure to Darwin's theory of natural selection, reacted by saying something along the lines of "Of course! Why didn't I think of that?" By 1865 Galton had published two papers dealing with the inheritance of individual differences, published under the title *Hereditary Talent and Character*, which were then elaborated in his 1869 book, *Hereditary Genius: An Inquiry into its Laws and Consequences* (Galton, 1869).

In his enthusiasm to discover the laws of inheritance, Galton originated much of biometrics, and invented many of the statistical techniques, such as regression, correlation, partitioning of variance, that are still in general use today (Stigler, 1986). Galton discovered that individual differences for many traits were distributed according to a normal distribution. Indeed, it was Galton who named the familiar bell curve "normal," in the sense of commonly observed. He also discovered that psychological traits were no less heritable than were physical traits. He coined the term "eugenics"

(well born) for the new science of human inheritance and evolution, and for the applications of this new science to the welfare of mankind (Whitney, 1990).

By the beginning of the twentieth century many social progressives were eugenicists, and the intellectual founders of the new social and psychological sciences were thoroughgoing hereditarians and Darwinists. For example William James, often called America's first psychologist, and G. Stanley Hall, the founder of the American Psychological Association, along with many others viewed psychological science as a branch of natural science. Psychology's main concerns included study of two central aspects of Darwinian evolution, first the study of heritable individual differences and second, a study of natural selection which resulted in human instincts and inherited behavioral predispositions. The major theoretical orientation in American psychology was named "Functionalism," to emphasize the study of "function" in the sense of what good was some trait — how did it function — in the struggle for survival that was natural selection (Degler, 1991; Goodwin, 1999).

After a beginning in which Darwinian evolution was central to psychological theory, during the twentieth century Darwin was lost to mainstream psychology.

A Radical Shift to Egalitarianism

By the end of the twentieth century a remarkable theoretical and ideological shift had taken place. The basic tenants of a Darwinian approach — according to which inherited differences matter in real life — are routinely attacked as being morally and ethically repugnant. (In this view, truth or falsity is irrelevant, and only "feel good" slogans matter.) In this ideologically driven atmosphere, emotion-charged terms such as "racist," "sexist," "Nazi" and "neo-Nazi," are routinely hurled at proponents of a Darwinian perspective.

Darwinian scientists are castigated for "genetic determinism," which is dismissed as being overly simplistic. But this is a dishonest criticism. The label is a "straw man." In fact, no Darwinian scientist has ever been a "genetic determinist." Today the so-called social sciences support the prevailing notions and slogans of modern liberal democracy. These notions and slogans include: egalitarianism, the leveling down of everyone in society; environmental determinism, which assumes that heredity is socially insignificant; biological equality with cultural relativism, the "Politically Correct" view according to which all cultures are equally good, except for "bad" Western Christian civilization; Marxist socialism and Communism, which are regarded as the broadly "progressive" path to an ideal future (Hunt, 1999; Pearson, 1996; 1997; Whitney, 1997; 2000).

This radical shift from Darwinian science to an egalitarian or Marxist ideology occurred not on the basis of any new empirical evidence, but actually in opposition to many new empirical discoveries.

The anti-Darwinian ideology originated from within European social/political movements of the nineteenth century. Beginning with the French Revolution (1789) and then across Europe throughout the nineteenth century, the Jews of Europe were gradually "emancipated." The last legal restrictions on their activities (at least outside of Russia) ended with the new German constitution of 1871. Although Europe's Jews were legally treated as equal and fully integrated citizens in what was then a largely Christian civilization, much of the Jewish intelligentsia remained bitter hostile toward traditional European culture. Perhaps the most influential example was Karl Marx. Although his father was a lawyer who had been baptized as a Christian for social-business reasons, Marx was the descendent, through both parents, of a long line of rabbinical scholars.

Darwin formulated the theory of natural selection as a mechanism for evolution at about the same time that Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels issued the *Communist Manifesto*. Shortly after its publication in 1847, a wave of attempted revolutions broke out across Europe. The first volume of Marx's great work, *Das Kapital*, appeared in 1867, nine years after the publication in 1859 of Darwin's *On the Origin of Species*, and two years before Galton's *Hereditary Genius*. Marx had wanted to dedicate *Das Kapital* to Darwin, out of appreciation for Darwin's evolutionary materialism and the notion of progress in the world. But Marx was certainly no biologist.

According to Marx, mankind had evolved by Darwinian natural selection until the appearance of language and culture. Then a different mechanism of history completely replaced biological evolution. After the "means of production" came into private hands at the dawn of recorded history, Marx explained, struggle and warfare between social-economic classes became the all-decisive motor of human development. Along with nearly all educated persons of his time, Marx was, by current standards, both a racist and a sexist. But the intellectual and political movement that bears his name soon came to stand for a radical egalitarianism that is also characteristic of contemporary (and "politically correct") democratic liberalism.

Franz Boas, a German-born intellectual who lived most of his life in the United States, is rightly credited, above all others, for displacing Darwinian evolution, at least in this country. But for insight into his approach and influence, we need to start with a consideration of his uncle-by-marriage, Abraham Jacobi.

Some Major Players

Abraham Jacobi (1830-1919). His family was close friends of Franz Boas' mother's family, the Meyers of Minden. When Jacobi was sent to study at the *Gymnasium* in Minden, Westphalia, he spent most of his social time at the Meyers' household. Living there was a son his own age, as well as a younger boy whom he tutored, and the Meyer sisters, Sophie and Fanny. Sophie later married Meier Boas and become mother of Franz, while Fanny eventually married Abraham Jacobi. Uncle-by-marriage Jacobi remained a strong, life-long influence on Franz Boas.

Even while at *Gymnasium* the young Abraham Jacobi was attracted to ideas of the radical left. Later while a medical student he, along with Sophie Meyer and sister Fanny, were members of a radical political club. All three engaged in various activities in support of the Communist League during the failed revolutions of 1848-1851.

In a letter that has survived, Sophie expressed her bitter disappointment at the revolution's failure, and her frustration over the role of women in traditional society (Cole, 1999). Sophie was also active in the revolutionary movements of the 1870s. Young Franz Boas would absorb these attitudes, almost literally, at his mother's breast.

In August 1851, following Abraham Jacobi's arrest in Berlin for high treason, the police searched his sister's home in Minden. Jacobi was incarcerated for two years. After his release, but fearing another arrest, he fled to England.

Jacobi visited Karl Marx in London, and for a time was a guest of Friedrich Engels in Manchester. (Cole, 1999). Finding it difficult to practice medicine in England, Jacobi moved on to the United States, where he settled in New York. In due time he became a successful physician, a leader in New York's Jewish community, and a professor of medicine (pediatrics) at Columbia University.

Let there be no mistake with regard to Jacobi's interests and activities. While benefiting from the freedoms in the largely Anglo-Saxon American republic, Jacobi strove to undermine the very society whose freedoms

Charles Darwin in 1849, at age 40.

allowed him to thrive. Karl Marx took note of Jacobi's activities promoting revolutionary socialism in the United States. Marx wrote "Jacobi is making good business. The Yankees like his serious manner." (Putnum, 1967, p.17). And on March 29, 1917, he signed a cable of congratulations to the new liberal-democratic government in Russia. Other signatories were his fellow Jewish community leaders, Oscar Straus and Rabbi Steven S. Wise (Szajkowski, 1972).

Jacobi also helped Franz Boas. He introduced Franz to his future wife, the daughter of a successful New York physician. And it was Jacobi who encouraged Franz to emigrate, in 1886, to the United States, where he arranged for his friend a fellow "Forty-eighter" Carl Schurz to get Franz a job at a museum. (Schurz, prominent in American political and intellectual life, was for a time a U.S. Senator from Missouri and Secretary of the Interior under President Hayes.) Even with such influential backers, Franz Boas for some years drifted from one temporary or part-time position to another.) In 1896, after a full ten years in the U.S., Columbia University reluctantly offered him a part-time, and temporary, position as lecturer assigned to its Psychology Department. He landed this post only after Abraham Jacobi, the University's influential professor of medicine, personally guaranteed to pay one-half of Boas'

Franz Boas

salary (Cole, 1999).

In 1899 Franz Boas was finally appointed as a Professor of Anthropology in a newly created Department of Psychology and Anthropology (Hyatt, 1990). He secured this post, however, only after Jacobi had guaranteed, once again, to underwrite a major portion of his salary (Cole, 1999).

Franz Uri Boas (1858-1942) grew up in a radical socialist Jewish household where he early developed an enduring dislike — hatred may not be too strong a word — for the traditional Prussian Christian culture that surrounded him. Later, from his position in the United States as an anthropologist, he attacked and subverted traditional European-American heritage, norms and values.

Never a coward, as a student in Germany Franz fought numerous duels in response to real or imagined slights and anti-Semitic incidents. The tip of his nose was snipped off in one fight, and he lost a bit of scalp in another. He gained a scar above one eye, and a slash from chin to temple on one side of his face.

As early as 1894 Boas was arguing that biological race was not a factor in intelligence or ability (Hyatt, 1990). Even his sympathetic biographers make the point that Boas' work on behalf of Negroes and prejudice was merely a convenient screen; the self-serving aspects of his work would have been only too evident had he directly addressed Jewish interests. By working toward leveling whites and blacks he was directly contributing to the ascendancy of Jews, because if the whites could be convinced to accept blacks as equals, they would then accept anyone (Hyatt, 1990).

Indeed, writing in the flagship journal *American Anthropologist,* Jewish author Gelya Frank maintains that

> Franz Boas' theories concerning race and culture were consistent with the assimilationist strategies of German Jews in America ... By endorsing civil rights for blacks through the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the National Urban League, David Levering Lewis notes, if perhaps too dismissively, that Jews fought anti-Semitism by "remote control." "By assisting in the crusade to prove that Afro-Americans could be decent, conformist, cultured human beings, the civil rights Jews were, in a sense, spared some of the necessity of directly rebutting anti-Semitic stereotypes; for if blacks could make good citizens, clearly, most white Americans believed, all other groups could make better ones." (Lewis, 1992: 31, in Frank, 1997, p. 735)

Numerous authors have dealt with the influence of Boas in leading anthropology and associated sciences into the egalitarian and environmentalist fallacies. Carleton Putnam, for one, has insightfully commented:

> What could have been more natural than that a movement calling itself, here, Communism, there, Marxism, somewhere else Socialism (but always having a base which I found easiest to describe by the word equalitarianism) should in its strategy include subversion of sciences as well as governments? (Putnam, 1961, p. 16)

Putnam went on to write that as he read Boas,

> page by page my amazement grew. Here was clever and insidious propaganda posing in the name of science, fruitless efforts to prove unprovable theories ... the pattern began to repeat itself, the slippery techniques in evading

> the main issues, the prolix diversions, the sound without substance. (Putnam, 1961, p. 18)

While much more could be said here about Boas' technique, here I wish to point out explicitly the intellectual and personal ties between Boas, the Boasian approach to social sciences, and the development (or, perhaps, devolvement) of psychology.

The main propagandist for the elimination of Darwinian considerations in psychology, and their replacement with environmentalism, was John Broadus Watson, the father of so-called "behaviorism." Watson was so influential that by mid-century much of academic psychology had re-defined itself as the "study of behavior".

Among critics the shift from psychology as the study of mind to psychology as the study of behavior, led to some bitterly insightful jokes. One was that psychology — the word comes from "psyche" the greek word for soul, and "ology" which means the study of — began as the scientific study of the soul, the very basis of humanity. Then with the rise of materialistic science, psychology first lost its soul and became the study of mind and consciousness. Then came the rise of Freudian psychoanalysis with its emphasis on the importance of the unconscious; psychology lost consciousness. With Watson and behaviorism, it finally lost its mind.

John Broadus Watson (1878-1958) was born at Reedy River, South Carolina, and named by his devout mother after a famous Baptist minister, John Broadus. In the fall of 1900, J. B. Watson began graduate studies at the University of Chicago (Buckley, 1989). To understand his development as a protagonist of anti-Darwinian psychology, we need to look into what he encountered at Chicago.

A gift from John D. Rockefeller, the University of Chicago opened in 1892. Being very well endowed, it early became a leader in graduate education by hiring the best-available faculty. The so-called "functionalist" approach to psychological theory, which (as mentioned earlier) emphasized Darwinian natural selection, was often called "The Chicago School" because of its emphasis by important scholars at the University of Chicago (Buckley, 1989; Goodwin, 1999). This is somewhat ironic because it was an education provided by Chicago that led to the ridicule and downfall of "The Chicago School." To understand the formation of Watson's outlook, we must look at the influence on him of three of his professors there: John Dewey, Jacques Loeb, and Henry Donaldson.

John Dewey, famous for his endeavors in experimental and progressive education, was for ten years chairman of Chicago's Philosophy Department, before moving on in 1904 to Columbia University. Although Dewey is famous for a number of things, including an emphasis on applying the results of experimental psychology to education, and for his support of so-called "progressive" movements in society and education, he was not a Communist. Indeed, although early a supporter of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), during the 1930s he resigned from the ACLU with the complaint that it had been taken over by Communists (Scruton, 1995). J. B. Watson originally applied to Chicago to study philosophy under Dewey. He rather quickly shifted to psychology, later saying that he never understood anything Dewey said. (Dewey is said to have been a terrible lecturer.) Although Watson switched his major to psychology, he kept philosophy, and Dewey, as a minor.

Jacques Loeb was a famous physiologist who emigrated from Germany in 1891. He was also one of the more outspoken socialist radicals of his time. He was bitterly hostile to Darwinian evolutionary theory because, he said, it could be used to support Christian theology and free markets. He also argued that evolution did not fulfill the true role of a science because it was not experimental enough (Pauley, 1987). J. B. Watson later emphasized that a true science of psychology would be able to "predict and control" behavior — a mantra that he acquired from Jacques Loeb. Loeb taught that the control of behavior was the ultimate object of scientific research. For Loeb, "Scientific knowledge was a tool to modify and control the behavior of existing organisms and ultimately to produce new organisms artificially through biological engineering" (Buckley, 1989, p. 41).

This was a message that the young Watson thoroughly absorbed.

The third strong influence on J. B. Watson was the well-known brain specialist, Henry H. Donaldson. Before going to Chicago in 1892, Donaldson had been on the faculty at Clark University where, at the same time, Franz Boas held a one-year-at-a-time appointment as a docent. Donaldson and Boas, with their respective wives, lived only one block apart, were of nearly the same age, and each had one child, also about the same age. Furthermore, their wives got on famously together. They quickly became fast friends. Years later Boas would describe Donaldson as his best friend in America; the Boas' even named a later baby (Henri) after Henry Donaldson (Hyatt, 1990; Cole, 1999). It was in the laboratory of this best friend and soulmate of

Franz Boas that John B. Watson did his research for his doctoral dissertation. A volume was put together to honor Boas on the 25th anniversary of his Ph.D. (Boas, 1906). The first paper in this special honorary volume was authored by Henry Donaldson, with appreciation to J. B. Watson (Donaldson, 1906). Thus Watson's indoctrination in progressive socialist environmentalism, and anti-Darwinism, came through three of his most influential teachers in his graduate education.

By all accounts Watson was a bright student and a hard worker. When he was awarded his doctoral degree in 1903 he was, at 25, the youngest person to ever earn a doctorate from Chicago up to that time. Also in 1903 Watson married a 19-year-old undergraduate student that provided another link to liberal socialism. His new wife, Mary Ickes, was the younger sister of Harold Ickes (Buckley, 1989). Watson's new brother-in-law played a major role in promoting egalitarian, socialist policies in the United States. For a time Harold Ickes was president of the Chicago branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). He later was Secretary of the Interior under President Franklin Roosevelt, who put him in charge of some of the most famous "New Deal" make-work projects (Clarke, 1996; Watkins, 1990). So dedicated was Ickes to racial egalitarianism that historian Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., described him as the Roosevelt administration's "informal Secretary of Negro Relations" (Schlesinger, 1957).

As a 65-year-old widower, Harold Ickes married a woman nearly 40 years his junior. Their son, also named Harold Ickes, later held influential posts, both official and unofficial, in the Clinton administration.

Thus did John B. Watson begin his academic career well connected, both academically and politically, to liberalism. In 1913 he was invited to present a series of lectures at Columbia University. The first was published under the title "Psychology as the Behaviorist Views it" (Watson, 1913). One of its main themes was that the "theoretical goal" of psychological science should be "the prediction and control of behavior", and that behaviorism would produce techniques for social control to improve society.

In 1915, Watson's presidential address to the American Psychological Association was entitled "The place of the conditioned reflex in psychology" (Watson, 1916). Here Watson introduced the conditioned reflex, studied by the Russians Pavlov and Bechterev, as central to all psychological development. In his view learning-conditioning was central, while inherited influences on development were simply unimportant.

Watson continued to write for decades in a provocative and propagandistic style. Here are some samples of that style, from his 1930 book *Behaviorism*:

> Our hereditary structure lies ready to be shaped in a thousand different ways — the same structure — depending on the way in which the child is brought up.... Objectors will probably say that the behaviorist is flying in the face of the known facts of eugenics and experimental evolution — that the geneticists have proven that many of the behavioral characteristics of the parents are handed down to the offspring.... Our reply is that the geneticists are working under the banner of the old "faculty" psychology. One need not give very much weight to any of their conclusions. We no longer believe in faculties nor in any stereotyped patterns of behavior which go under the names of "talent" and inherited capacities. (Watson, 1930, pp. 97-99)

> Give me a dozen healthy infants, well-formed, and my own specified world to bring them up in, and I'll guarantee to take any one at random and train him to become any type of specialist I might select — doctor, lawyer, artist, merchant-chief and, yes, beggar-man and thief, regardless of his talents, penchants, tendencies, abilities, vocations, and race of his ancestors. (p. 104)

Watson's view could hardly have been more incorrect. As one eminent psychologist has pointed out, "Since Watson's pronouncement, no single year has passed without publication of some evidence showing it to be wrong" (McClearn, 1962, p. 237). Against the evidence, this extreme environmentalist and anti-hereditarian view in time became the entrenched "traditional view" that is today tamely accepted by most psychologists.

This anti-hereditarian view does not differ in essence from the ludicrous "Lysenkoism" of the Soviet Union, which is often cited as a sterling example of the folly of trying to subordinate science to p*olitical* ideology (Soyfer, 1994). But whereas the Lysenkoist anti-heredtarianism of the Stalin-era Soviet Union was imposed by government order, in the United States it prevails *de facto* by "consensus." Sadly, these counterfactual egalitarian and environmental determinist theories are still central to the views of many social scientists, and today underlie much social and educational policy in the United States (Whitney, 1998a).

What Watson did for psychology, another disciple of Boas did for sex. Margaret Mead (1901-1978), a bi-sexual graduate student of Franz Boas, went to Somoa to carry out the research for her doctoral dissertation. Upon her return she published her findings in a book entitled *Coming of Age in Samoa: A Psychological Study of Primitive Youth for Western Civilization* (Mead, 1928), which became one of the most influential works in the United States from the 1940s through the 1970s. The sub-title should have been a warning. The gist of Mead's best-selling book is that the sexual constraints of traditional Western Christian civilization *caused* the emotional difficulties of puberty and led to wars, prejudice, bigotry, and suppression of women. Mean claimed that Samoan adolescents were allowed, in fact encouraged, to engage in free, casual, promiscuous sex. The result was a society of happy, well adjusted, peaceful, open, kind people. This outlook was expressed in the popular late-1960s slogan, "Make Love, Not War," and encouraged the "sexual revolution" of that era. In the final years of her life, Margaret Mead was a cultural icon.

Cultural anthropologists loved *Coming of Age in Samoa*, who made it one of most often assigned works in the field. In the early 1980s it was exposed as a pack of lies (Freeman, 1983; O'Keefe, 1983). In the year 2000, the Intercollegiate Studies Institute of Wilmington, Delaware, named Mead's 1928 treatise the worst non-fiction book of the past century. They could have named it the worst book of fiction. On this there is now broad scholarly consensus. The main unresolved question is who was the worst liar: was it Mead herself, or was she misled by her young native informants (Freeman, 1998)? But even though it has been thoroughly discredited, some anthropologists maintain that the importance and goodness of Mead's message overrides her book's lack of veracity (Barkan, 1992; Foerstel & Gilliam, 1992; Lamb, 1994). "Mead's first husband, Luther Cressman, later recalled Mead's characteristic response upon being shown that a conclusion of hers was not true: 'If it isn't, it ought to be,' she would say." (Price, 1999, p. A17)

Among Mead's other influential works was another classic of creative writing, *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies* (1935). Here Mead tried to show that the male chauvinism of Western Civilization was a cultural phenomenon with no basis in human biology. She claimed that in other cultures, with their non-Western traditions, relations among the sexes were very different. In one, she contended, women were the sexually aggressive ones while the males played coy.

Margaret Mead

Women ran things politically, while men tended the home. In another non-Western culture, she maintained, both men and women were peaceful and ladylike, while in a third both were nasty strivers, similar to white, Western males. In the three cultures she portrayed, along with Western civilization, every possible combination of female-male dominance relationship was manifest. The conclusion was obvious: differences in the social roles of the men and women in Western and European culture must be due to the evils of traditional Western Christian civilization.

Pontifical Authoritarianism

Franz Boas and his disciples were not always bashful about proclaiming the social and political implications of their ideology. Boas received funding, in part, from the American Jewish Committee and from Jacob Schiff, the prominent Jewish banker who, it is said, helped to finance the February 1917 Russian revolution. And Boas himself was a member of more than 40 organizations identified as Communist or Communist front groups (Hyatt, 1990). (Interestingly, the daughter of vice president Al Gore, Jr., married Andrew Schiff, the grandson of Jacob Schiff.)

In October of 1935, Franz Boas wrote to Raymond Pearl requesting a statement on race that, after being

signed by prominent scientists, would be widely circulated. In demurring Pearl wrote that he questioned

> the wisdom and strategy of taking the action you suggest in your letter.... I have strong aversion to round-robins by scientific men, and most particularly where the pronouncement is really, however camouflaged, about political questions or angles of political questions which have more or less relation to purely scientific matters.... I am unalterably opposed now and all times towards any attitude of pontifical authoritarianism under the aegis of science. (Provine, 1973)

Perhaps the most outstanding example of "pontifical authoritarianism under the aegis of science" was the 1950 UNESCO Statement on Race, which, after scientific protests, was modified and reissued in 1952. Among its other falsehoods, this widely cited statement declared that there was no evidence for hereditary psychological differences among races. The UNESCO declaration was the product of a committee headed by one of Boas' students, Ashley Montagu (born Israel Ehrenburg) (Provine, 1973; Pearson, 1996). Montagu had earlier authored a heavily promoted book that sought to debunk the biological reality of race, *Man's Most Dangerous Myth: The Fallacy of Race* (1942). The UNESCO statement was sent to 106 anthropologists or geneticists for comment. Of the 80 who responded, 31 had substantial criticisms, principally about the provision implying equality of mental traits among races. Twenty-six disagreed with details, while only 23 accepted the statement as presented (Provine, 1973).

Kenneth Clark, a prominent, Columbia-trained black psychologist, was secretly funded by the American Jewish Committee (Svonkin, 1997). Clark provided false and misleading testimony that the U.S. Supreme Court used in its landmark 1954 ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka Kansas*, which forced school desegregation (van den Haag, 1960).

Another Boasian, psychologist Otto Klineberg (1899-1992), spelled out the social-political agenda in his supposedly scholarly book *Race Differences* (1935):

> The general conclusion of this book is that there is no scientific proof of racial differences in mentality.... There is no reason therefore, to treat two people differently because they differ in their physical type.... There is no reason to make immigration laws stricter for one people than another.... There is no reason to pass laws against miscegenation.... There is no innate aversion of races to one another.
>
> There is an increasing tendency to see in the race problem merely one aspect of the class war, in which those who are in a position of privilege make of unimportant differences in skin color or religion or language a convenient excuse for their own continued domination. Those who look upon race relations from this point of view see little hope of any real improvement until the present competitive system has been replaced by a new social order. They point with conviction to Russia, where the economic change has been accompanied by a more sympathetic treatment of minorities, and where the class struggle and the race problem seem to have disappeared together. (Benjamin, 1997, pp. 617-618)

Suppression of Common Knowledge

That the social sciences have been largely corrupted, mainly by Jews with a leftist ideological agenda, is common knowledge among academics in the field. An example is Franz Samelson, in his 1978 paper, "From 'race psychology' to 'studies in prejudice'," published in the scholarly *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences*. After taking note of what some regard as a paradigm shift in psychology, "from evolutionary genetics to the culture concept, from Darwin to Boas," Samelson wrote: "It seems arguable that a change in the pattern of ethnic backgrounds among psychologists contributed significantly to the shift.... Early American science was predominantly 'Puritan' or at least Anglo-Saxon. From the twenties on, however, ethnics began to move into the profession in ever-increasing numbers, at first primarily with recruits from Jewish backgrounds." (Benjamin, 1997, p. 639).

Gelya Frank (1997), in an example of Jewish triumphalist writing, points out that cultural anthropology remains largely a Jewish endeavor that consists of training for social activism. Svonkin (1997) writes in a similar vein. MacDonald (1998) presents an extensive and excellent study of these activities.

With knowledge of behavior genetics and race differences increasing at a prodigious rate (Whitney, 1999), members of the Jewish intelligentsia are, if anything, becoming more strident in attempting to subvert Darwinian psychology. Examples include the widely praised book by Jared Diamond, *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies* (1997), which argues

against genetic race differences, and *Alas, Poor Darwin: Arguments Against Evolutionary Psychology* (Rose, 2000).

Even though this process is common knowledge among academics, the suppression of knowledge about Jewish involvement in issues linking genetics, race, psychology is being actively pursued. In many countries "politically incorrect" discussion of these topics can get one fired, while worldwide the Anti-Defamation League, the Simon Wiesenthal Center, and allied pressure groups are pushing to criminalize any serious discussion of race differences (Whitney, 1998b). Hopefully the tide will turn before the "traditional enemies of the truth" gain total control.

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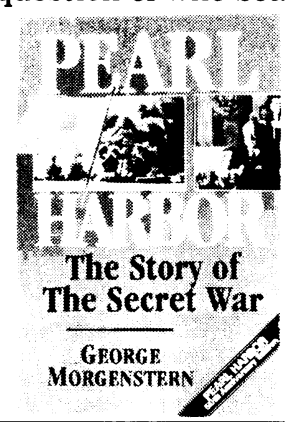

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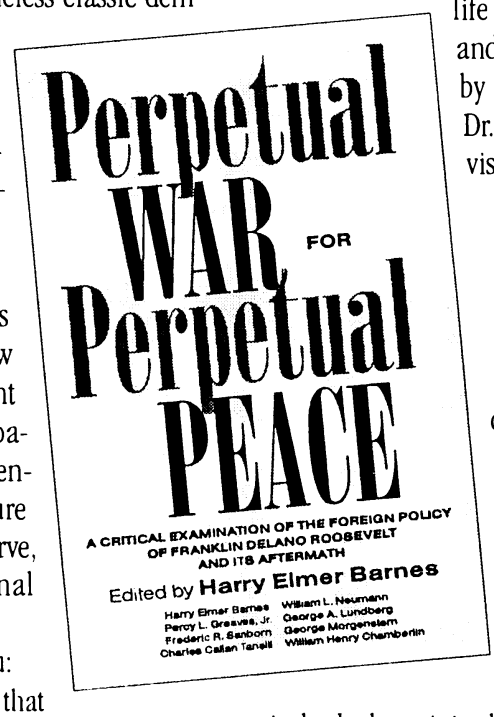

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> It is the republication of books such as *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace* which does so much to discommode and annoy the beneficiaries of the New World Order.

Discommode and annoy the enemies of historical truth and freedom of research it did — virtually the entire stock of *Perpetual War* was destroyed in the terrorist arson attack on the Institute's offices and warehouse on the Orwellian date of July 4, 1984.

Today, the Institute for Historical Review is proud to be able to make this enduring classic available to you, and to our fellow Americans, in both the original 1953 hardbound edition, and our phoenix-like 1993 quality softbound reprint (with additional material not included in the 1953 edition). This book can silence the lies about World War II, and thus the bombs and bullets our interventionist rulers plan — for our own American troops no less than the enemy — in the Middle East, Europe, Africa, Asia, or wherever else the interventionist imperative imposed by World War II may lead us.

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The United States and Israel

JOSEPH SOBRAN

Killing Gentiles

Ariel Sharon has finally gone too far. Israel's thuggish prime minister thought he could crush the Palestinian revolt with a policy of violence, killing Palestinians until they begged for mercy. But the policy has backfired by getting lots of Jews killed too, and the violence on both sides is escalating dangerously. Even Sharon's indulgent American patrons, George W. Bush and Colin Powell, have called for a halt to the madness.

Sharon is acting according to his lights. He has never concealed his contempt for "the goy" — the gentile. Israel is based on the principle that Jews have rights "goyim" don't have. Hence its abuse of Arab gentiles and its defiance of Western gentiles.

Mark Weber, of the Institute for Historical Review, has summed up the situation in one pithy sentence: "The truth is that if we held Israel to the same standards that we apply to Serbia, Afghanistan, and Iraq, U.S. bombers and missiles would be blasting Tel Aviv, and we'd be putting Israeli prime minister Sharon behind bars for war crimes and crimes against humanity."

Unless I've missed something, even such alleged "anti-Semites" as David Duke and Louis Farrakhan don't advocate treating Jews as Israel treats gentiles. Anyone with a spark of decency would be ashamed to treat Jews that way. Yet a gentile can be accused of anti-Semitism even for the purely verbal sin of criticizing Israel, whereas a Jew who supports Sharon's physical cruelty is accused of ... well, nothing. We have no handy word for even the most brutal Jewish treatment of gentiles.

To challenge the Jews' right to oppress Palestinians is called "denying Israel's right to exist." Apparently its "right to exist" includes the right to oppress, and is indeed inseparable from it. Even the "peace plans" that call for separate Jewish and Palestinian states seem to take for granted the right of the Jewish state to treat Arabs within its borders as inferiors.

Perish the thought that Jews and gentiles should be equal! That would be anti-Semitism.

According to Israel's "amen corner" in this country, Israel can do no wrong, except to concede too much to the Palestinians. Israel is a heroic "democracy" even when it treats its minority like dirt, and a "reliable ally" of the United States even when it steals American military secrets and sells them to Communist countries.

It's an article of faith among the Amen Corner that the Israeli spy Jonathan Pollard — a national hero in Israel, by the way — has been punished far too harshly for his crimes, since the United States should have shared those secrets with Israel anyway. And far from recoiling from Sharon's brutality, the Amen Corner defends him at every turn, just as Stalin's fellow travel-

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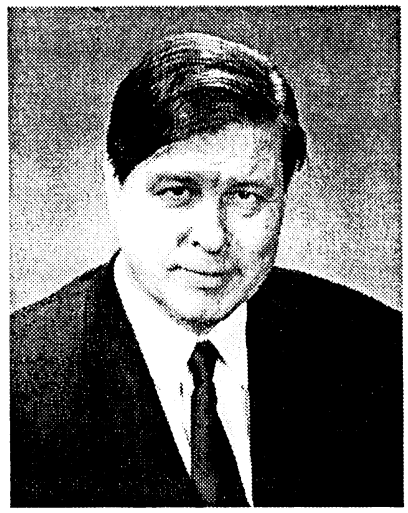
Joe Sobran is an author, lecturer and syndicated columnist. For 21 years he wrote for *National Review* magazine, including 18 years as a senior editor. He is editor of the monthly newsletter, *Sobran's* (P.O. Box 1383, Vienna, VA 22183, or see www.sobran.com) "Killing Gentiles," March 12, 2002, and "Is It Worth It?," Sept. 20, 2001, are reprinted by arrangement with Griffin Internet Syndicate. All rights reserved.

lers in this country used to justify Uncle Joe — except that some in the Amen Corner think Sharon isn't going far enough.

Not all the members of the Amen Corner are Jewish. Many are Christians — a shameful fact, since they never raise their voices in defense of Palestinian Christians. "See how these Christians love one another!" This kind of loyalty might make Judas Iscariot queasy.


Joseph Sobran

The obvious danger is that the United States will once more be drawn into war with Israel's enemies, chiefly Iraq. If that happens, we probably won't be as lucky as in the 1991 Gulf War, which ended with an easy American victory and little cost until last September 11. This time the whole Middle East could erupt in war and revolution, leaving us with countless millions of bitter enemies on top of those we already have. It will be a boon to al-Qaeda recruitment.

The U.S. Government is toying with the possibility of using nuclear weapons in the war ahead — the war that the "war on terrorism" may morph into. We can be sure that the fanatical Sharon won't object, and some of his American apologists are sounding rather interested in the idea of nuking Arabs. If the United States does it, Israel won't have to.

We can only hope that Bush, Powell, and the rest of the top echelon of the government — which may or may not include Congress these days — will come to their senses before they decide to strike Iraq. U.S. support for Israel has already cost us far too much, and it may yet cost us far more. Ariel Sharon leaves no excuse for blindness about what we are dealing with.

Is It Worth It?

One thing is clear: the recent horrible events in New York and Washington had nothing whatsoever, in any way, shape, or form, to do with U.S. support for Israel. Many Arabs and Muslims hate this country and would hate it just as bitterly if there were no such thing as Israel.

At least this is what we are hearing from Israel's apologists. The European press seems to assume that America's policy toward Israel helped provoke the 9/11 attack. To the naive eye this would seem rather obvious. Yet we are assured otherwise.

Writing in *The Wall Street Journal*, Norman Podhoretz asserts that "if Israel had never come into existence, or if it were magically to disappear, the U.S. would still stand as an embodiment of everything that most of these Arabs consider evil. Indeed," he goes on, "the hatred of Israel is in large part a surrogate for anti-Americanism."

According to this argument, the terrible violence we have suffered has no connection to our alliance with Israel; that alliance not only has no cost for us, but is a positive blessing. We are lucky to have such an ally.

In fact, by this logic, the cost of the alliance falls on Israel. It would seem to follow that Israel, in its own interest, should break its special ties to the United States and reject any further American military and financial aid. Why should the Israelis, who have their own problems, take on all our enemies in addition?

Podhoretz's argument is an insult to his readers' intelligence. Of course American support for Israel has cost this country dearly. Any fool can see that, though in some quarters only a fool would say it out loud.

A personal note is relevant here. Fifteen years ago, Podhoretz and his circle tried to get me fired from my job at *National Review* for saying as much. That experience taught me a lot about the limits of free speech.

When it comes to Israel, an American journalist speaks his mind at his own risk. That helps explain why so few voices in the U.S. press are saying what European journalists may say without fear.

In the early 1980s it became clear to me that the pro-Israel lobby was trying to steer the United States into conflict with the Arab world. I saw nothing in the American interest in that; and my own two sons were approaching the draft age. Until then, I had been strongly pro-Israel myself; but sacrificing my boys for Israel was a higher price than I wanted to pay. Nor did I want other Americans to pay it.

But as soon as I began arguing publicly that the U.S.-Israel alliance was not only costly but dangerous to the United States, I became the target of Zionist vituperation and worse. Some, like Podhoretz, tried to ruin my career. And I've seen others get the same treatment.

Yet it should be clear even to those who see nothing to criticize in Israel that America pays a price for supporting it — and the price just got much heavier. No doubt there are other things that make this country hated and despised in the Arab-Muslim world, but to deny that Israel is a chief irritant is dishonest. And we must be free to say so.

My point here is not that Israel, or for that matter

America itself, is to blame. It's simply in the nature of things that, for all sorts of reasons, the interests of nations conflict; and when a nation projects force abroad, sooner or later it is going to provoke a strong reaction. What happened to us last week was only to be expected; I don't feel like a psychic for having predicted it for many years.

Now we have to ask ourselves a simple question: Is it worth it? It's a question we should have asked much earlier. Of course we have to weigh the rights and wrongs of the Middle East, but there comes a time when even taking the right side may bring unbearable costs.

It's not encouraging that the U.S. military response to the 9/11 attack has been gauchely dubbed "Operation Infinite Justice." Mercy may be infinite, but justice is always a matter of measure. And a sense of measure is just what has been missing in American foreign policy for lo, these many years.

Israel's Ariel Sharon Speaks

"Israel may have the right to put others on trial, but certainly no one has the right to put the Jewish people and the State of Israel on trial"

— Ariel Sharon, BBC News, March 25, 2001.

"Jews as individuals are great individuals — talented, ambitious, intelligent, smart. As a people [though], I would not give them as high a grade. Jews know how to hate."

— Ariel Sharon, in an interview with the Israeli daily *Yediot Aharanot*, Feb. 1, 2002. Quoted in the *Los Angeles Times*, Feb. 2, 2002, p. B3.

Is Israel Our Friend?

"Every time anyone says that Israel is our only friend in the Middle East, I can't help but think that before Israel, we had no enemies in the Middle East."

— John Sheehan, S.J.

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Myths About Britain's 'Finest Hour'

There's a myth now about the British hanging together in those dark days [of 1939-1941]. "London can take it," Ed Murrow told America in his CBS broadcasts. Actually, morale was appalling. Most people correctly had little confidence in the competence of their government and thought Germany was going to win. In the Channel Islands, which the Nazis did take over, the people greeted them hospitably and turned in Jews with zest. The British Ministry of Information employed 10,000 people to read people's mail surreptitiously, intercepting about 200,000 letters a week, and discovered that people were deeply pessimistic and thought Churchill was "played out."

A secret government report spelled out the popular lack of nerve: "Portsmouth — on all sides, we hear that looting and wanton destruction had reached alarming proportions. The police seem unable to exercise control ... The effect on morale is bad and there is a general feeling of desperation ... their nerve had gone."

Churchill's famous speeches about their "finest hour" and so forth didn't have much effect either. He delivered them in the House of Commons, and when the BBC asked him to rebroadcast them on the radio, he refused. So the BBC secretly used an actor named Norman Shelley to read them, pretending to be Churchill. Shelley's usual role was to play Larry the Lamb on "Children's Hour." Most people didn't actually know what Churchill's voice sounded like, and those who did thought it sounded funny. Letters poured into No. 10 Downing St. asking what was wrong with the PM.

Many people tried to shut out the war as much as they could. By the end of 1940, nearly a third of the population admitted to not following news of the war. When asked what depressed them most, people put the weather first, then war news, then the air raids. Life was rotten anyway for a huge slab of the population, which was malnourished, poorly housed, barely educated and deeply discontented. When they visited the [London] East End, the king and queen were soundly booed. In the summer of 1941, a woman got five years in prison for saying "Hitler is a good man, a better man than Mr. Churchill."

— Alexander Cockburn, author and columnist, who was born in Britain in June 1941, writing in "Remembrances of War and Summer," *Los Angeles Times*, May 28, 2000.

'Copenhagen': Uncertainty in Life and in Science

Copenhagen by Michael Frayn. New York: Anchor, 2000. 132 pages.

Reviewed by Daniel A. Michaels

Peter Frayn's play *Copenhagen*, recently returned to the stage in America, speculates on what might have transpired during a meeting between Nobel laureates Niels Bohr and Werner Heisenberg in Copenhagen in September 1941, at the height of the German advance into Russia and just three months before America's entry into the war. The power of National Socialist Germany was at its pinnacle, and the Germans had just been made aware, through Swedish sources, of U.S. plans to build an atomic bomb.

The meeting was at Heisenberg's behest. As Germany's leading theoretical physicist and head of the German Uranium Club, the organ which would assess the possible war uses of nuclear energy, he was the man best situated to advise his government on the creation of an atomic bomb. The older Bohr was not only a professional colleague of Heisenberg, but a close personal friend as well. The play ponders the possible reasons for Heisenberg's visit, linking them to the failure of the Germans to develop the bomb.

The stage is set austerely, with but three actors in the roles of Heisenberg, Bohr, and Bohr's wife, Margrethe. The set resembles a university physics seminar, with about two dozen members of the audience arranged in a semicircle around the circular center stage, as though participating in the seminar or sitting in judgment at a tribunal. The principals, Heisenberg and Bohr, orbit around the stage like electrons around the nucleus, Margrethe, who comments on the actions and words of her husband and Heisenberg. She is obviously disposed against the latter.

The action of the play encompasses the initial meeting of the two physicists in Copenhagen in 1941, another encounter in 1947, and finally an imagined meeting that takes place after all three characters have died. Margrethe, Bohr's wife, is present in all scenes as interlocutor and commentator. Even after death they are unable to ascertain with certainty (thus, the uncertainty principle in human life) precisely what was said in Copenhagen in 1941, what was implied, and what was inferred. Did Bohr understand what Heisenberg intended to convey? Did Bohr misinform — intentionally or unwittingly — the Western Allies of Germany's wartime plans?

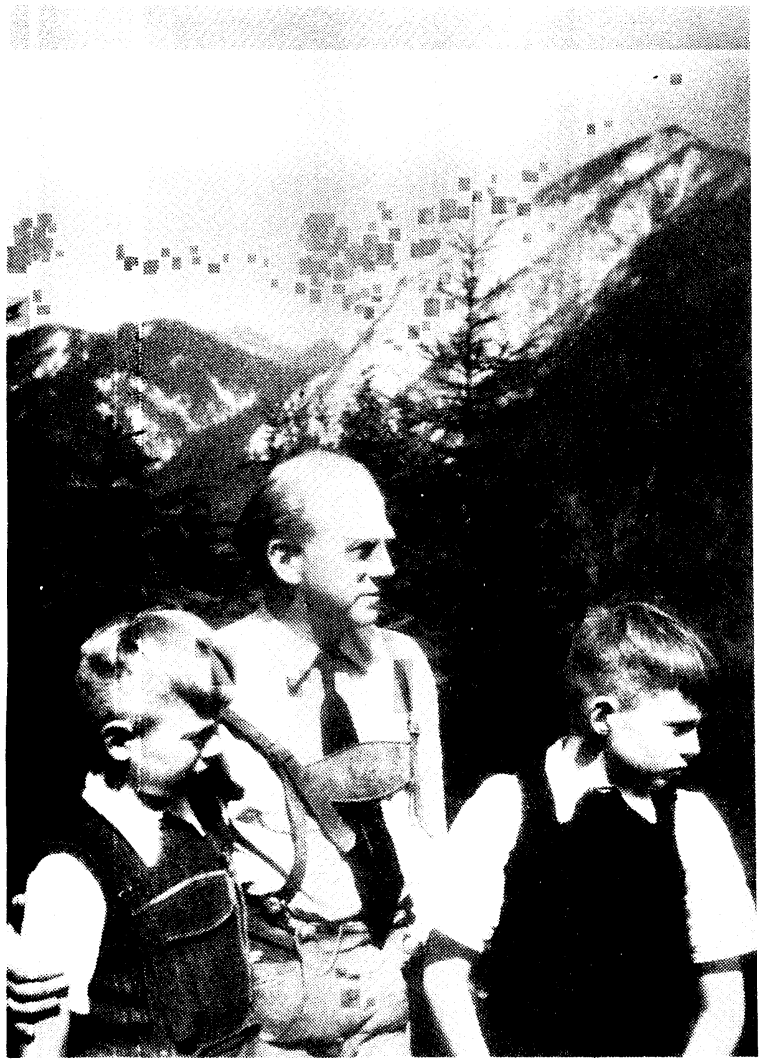
As Frayn notes (*Copenhagen*, p. 96), dialogue plays an important role in Heisenberg's own memoirs, because he wanted "to demonstrate that science is rooted in conversations." In the play Margrethe says of her husband and Heisenberg: "The first thing they ever did was to go for a walk together ... Walk, and talk. Long, long before walls had ears."

Did Heisenberg ask to meet Bohr in order to confirm the reports concerning an American effort to build an atomic bomb? Did he want Bohr to disassociate himself from the American project? Did he want Bohr to dissuade the West from developing the bomb because he, Heisenberg, intended to discourage Germany from building the bomb? Did he tell Bohr that Germany would build only a reactor — an engine — and not a nuclear weapon? Or was he attempting to mislead Bohr about Germany's real intentions?

Michael Frayn has based the historical background to his play on two major books — Thomas Powers's *Heisenberg's War* and Robert Jungk's *Brighter Than a Thousand Suns* — each of which views Heisenberg more favorably than did Allied opinion in the first decades after the war.[1] Until the appearance of these books (as well as David Irving's 1967 *The German Atomic Bomb*),[2] Heisenberg was treated with undeserved hostility and contempt by many of the physicists who had been involved in the U.S. Manhattan Project, some of whom were his former students or friends. On this, Frayn has Heisenberg comment: "When I went to America in 1949 a lot of physicists wouldn't even shake my hand. Hands that had actually built the bomb wouldn't touch mine."

Because it presents Heisenberg in a favorable light, *Copenhagen* has drawn the particular ire of Paul Lawrence Rose, Professor of Jewish Studies and European History, as well as the director of the Center for Research on Anti-Semitism, at Pennsylvania State Uni-

Daniel W. Michaels is a Columbia University graduate (Phi Beta Kappa, 1954) and a Fulbright exchange student to Germany (1957). Now retired after 40 years of service with the U.S. Department of Defense, he writes from his home in Washington, DC.



Werner Heisenberg with two of his sons, in the late 1940s. Awarded the 1932 Nobel Prize for physics, he headed wartime Germany's atomic research program. His meeting with fellow Nobel laureate Niels Bohr in Denmark in September 1941 is the subject of a much-discussed new play, *Copenhagen*.

versity.[3] Rose finds the play to be a travesty of scientific history, a white-wash of Heisenberg's and Germany's inability to make the bomb, and (of course) anti-Semitic. (Frayn says that the true inventors of the bomb, Otto Frisch and Rudolf Peierls, were Jews.) Heisenberg, in the play, also helps arrange safe-passage for boatloads of Jews, including Bohr and his wife, from Denmark to Sweden in 1943. Furthermore, Frayn asserts, to Rose's dismay, that Churchill and Roosevelt were amoral power-wielders just like Hitler.

For years the Allies insisted that Germany had intended to build an atomic bomb but had failed because its scientists didn't understand bomb physics, hadn't made the proper calculations, had used the wrong materials, disagreed among themselves, and so on. Some American physicists accused German physicists, especially Heisenberg, of concocting a false story of moral scruples that constrained them from building so diabolic a weapon.

Samuel Goudsmit, a top physicist and occasional personal friend of Heisenberg, was appointed head of the Allied wartime mission (codenamed "Alsos") charged with obtaining and evaluating scientific intelligence on the German uranium project. In its findings "Alsos" contemptuously dismissed what it called the moral pretensions of the German physicists, concluding that Heisenberg and his colleagues had never fully understood the fast-neutron reaction in the U-235 bomb, and that under the Nazi regime no such advanced research could have ever hoped to succeed.

Heisenberg disparaged the "Alsos" report, praising Irving's study of the German effort instead:

> I did not like the Goudsmit book, *Alsos*. It was not a good book. I felt that he wrote it for political propaganda. I can only say that Irving really has studied the documents much better than Goudsmit has. In Irving you get the facts practically correct. He has done very careful work.

Rose objects strenuously to Frayn's attempt to establish a moral equivalency between the positions of Heisenberg and Bohr. Heisenberg, according to Rose, was a brilliant but weak man, whose shallow moral character allowed him to be easily corrupted by his nationalist German sympathies into colluding with Nazism. Most interesting, Rose has explicitly condemned *Copenhagen* for its revisionism:[4]

> Thanks to the play's chic postmodernism as well as the complexity of its idea, the subtle revisionism of *Copenhagen* has been received with a respect denied to such cruder revisionisms as that of David Irving's Holocaust denial. Revisionism it is, nonetheless, and *Copenhagen* is more destructive than Irving's self evidently ridiculous assertions — more destructive of the integrity of art, of science, and *of history.*

It was not until 1976, the year of Heisenberg's death, that Samuel Goudsmit revised his earlier dismissal of his friend's scientific abilities and moral concerns. The former head of Alsos wrote:

> Heisenberg was a very great physicist, a deep thinker, a fine human being, and also a courageous one. He was one of the greatest physicists of our time, but he suffered severely under the unwarranted attacks by fanatical colleagues. In my opinion he must be considered to have been in some respects a victim of the Nazi regime. (*Copenhagen*, p. 110)

As portrayed in *Copenhagen*, Heisenberg again and again expresses his doubts as to whether scientists should cooperate with the state in developing weapons of war. As an individual and a loyal German Heisenberg was confronted by a moral dilemma. If he chose to thwart Germany's development of the bomb, he might threaten the very existence of his country, since he knew the enemy was building a bomb. And indeed the preponderance of historical evidence suggests that Heisenberg chose to dissuade the German war office from building the bomb by providing spurious and exaggerated estimates of the materials and time required.

The *New York Times* reviewed *Copenhagen* just before the play opened on Broadway, with an emphasis on the staging and scientific content rather than the moral issues. The review particularly emphasized the "elegance and clarity" with which director Michael Blakemore presents the complexities of Heisenberg's uncertainty principle (the more precisely you measure one variable, the less precise your measurement of the related variable can be), complementarity (perceiving something from two incompatible standpoints), Bohr's quantum mechanics, and other advances in physics. The reviewer gives particular note to the ways in which these findings in physics are echoed in human behavior: for one, uncertainty surrounds the reasons and motives for Heisenberg's position regarding a German attempt to build the atom bomb.[5]

In *Copenhagen* Bohr describes his complementarity principle thus:

> Particles are things, complete in themselves. Waves are disturbances in something else. We must choose one of the two ways of seeing, but as soon as we do we can't know everything about them.

In illustration of the principle of complementarity in life, during a heated discussion between the two principals Heisenberg says:

> You thought I was trying to arm Germany with nuclear weapons. It was a war. You were absolutely entitled to kill me. Of course, this didn't even occur to you because while I'm your enemy, I'm also your friend. I'm an enemy to mankind, but I'm also your guest. I'm a particle but I'm also a wave.

It must be stated that although a German patriot, Heisenberg never joined the Nazi Party, and always got along with his Jewish colleagues. "I am not a Nazi, but a German!" he often said. Because of his unprejudiced views on theoretical physics, he was accused by some Party members of being a "white Jew," a gentile who took Einstein's relativity theory seriously. In the drama Heisenberg expresses his attachment to Germany:

> Germany is where I was born. Germany is where I became what I am. Germany is all the faces of my childhood, all the hands that picked me up when I fell, all the voices that encouraged me and set me on my way, all the hearts that speak to my heart. Germany is my widowed mother and my impossible brother. Germany is my wife. Germany is our children.

Tortured by the importance of his recommendations to the German government on whether or not to build an atomic bomb, Heisenberg is torn between his own personal reluctance and moral compunction about building the bomb, and his concern for his homeland and family if he recommends against it. In Frayn's dialogue, Heisenberg looks back to the consequences of Germany's defeat in 1918, including Communist uprisings and the Allied hunger blockade:

> I have to know what I am deciding for them! Is it another defeat? Another nightmare like I grew up with? Bohr, my childhood in Munich came to an end in anarchy and civil war. Are more children going to starve as we did? [referring to the postwar British blockade] Are they going to have to spend winter nights as I did when I was a schoolboy, crawling on my hands and knees through enemy lines, creeping out into the country under the cover of darkness in the snow to find food for my family? And maybe I'm choosing something worse even than defeat. Because the bomb they're building is to be used on us. On the evening of Hiroshima Oppenheimer said it was his one regret that they hadn't produced the bomb in time to use on Germany.

When Bohr interrupts him to say that Oppenheimer also tormented himself afterwards, Heisenberg retorts:

> Afterwards, yes. At least we tormented ourselves a little beforehand. Did a single one of them stop to think, even for one brief moment, about what they were doing? Did Fermi, or Teller, or Szilard? Did Einstein when he wrote to Roosevelt in 1939 and urged him to finance research on the bomb? Did you, when you escaped from Copenhagen two years later, and went to Los Alamos?

Bohr replies that at least he and the Los Alamos group weren't supplying the bomb to a Hitler. To which Heisenberg responds:

You weren't dropping it on Hitler, either. You were dropping it on anyone who was in reach. On old men and women on the street, on mothers and their children. And if you'd produced it in time they would have been my fellow countrymen. My wife. My children. That was the intention. Yes?

Bohr: That was the intention.

Much has been made of the comments by a number of Germany's leading physicists (referred to as the Farm Hall transcripts) during their detainment in Britain for six months after the war. It was during that time that they learned that an atomic bomb had been dropped on Japan. Since they unquestionably assumed that their remarks were being recorded, the German scientists no doubt said one thing for the ears of the British and other things among themselves during their daily walks. Jeremy Bernstein has made a fair and objective analysis of the transcripts, concentrating mostly on scientific considerations. He does not believe that Heisenberg ever made the crucial calculations necessary to determine the critical mass of the bomb, although he obviously knew quite well that a bomb would require fast (U-235) rather than slow (U-238) neutrons. Of the man Heisenberg, Bernstein writes: "He had the first truly quantum-mechanical mind — the ability to take the leap beyond the classical visualizing pictures into the abstract, all-but-impossible-to-visualize world of the subatomic."[6]

The main reason for Heisenberg's visit to Copenhagen in 1941 appears to have been his hope that Bohr in the West, and he in Germany, would be able to discourage work on a bomb. In Germany Heisenberg argued that building a nuclear-fission bomb when the war was still raging would be beyond Germany's technical capabilities. Moreover, he incorrectly informed the German war office that more than a ton of fissile material would be required.

Heisenberg chose to build instead an *Uranmaschine* (a nuclear reactor). He drew a simple sketch of the reactor for Bohr, but at the time the Dane apparently did not yet understand the difference between a reactor and a bomb. Bohr assumed that Heisenberg's drawing was a bomb sketch and passed his opinion on.

In *Copenhagen* Heisenberg tells Bohr explicitly that he is not working on a bomb, but on a reactor. "A machine to produce power! To generate electricity, to drive ships!"

Theatrically, the most dramatic moment in the play occurs as Heisenberg, at Bohr's urging, performs the crucial calculation for the critical mass of U-235 that would have given Germany the key to the bomb:

Bohr: Why are you confident that it's going to be so reassuringly difficult to build a bomb with 235? Is it because you've done the calculation?

H: The calculation?

B: Of the diffusion in 235. No, it's because you haven't calculated it. You haven't considered calculating it. You hadn't consciously realized there was a calculation to be made.

H: And of course now I have realized. In fact it wouldn't be all that difficult. Let's see ... The scattering cross-section's about 6 x 10^{-24}, so the mean free path would be ... Hold on ...

At this point an explosion, white light, and thunderous noise fills the stage, simulating the burst of an atomic bomb.

As to Frayn's accuracy in depicting the principals in the play, Heisenberg's son, Jochen Heisenberg, currently professor of physics at the University of New Hampshire, has criticized the playwright's representation of his father: "You can't try in a play to reproduce real people. There are many differences between how Heisenberg is presented and how the real person is. He was a rational person, not outwardly emotional. His emotions came through when he played music. That last part when his long monologue regrets the destruction of his country — my father would never have done something like that."

On the other hand, Bohr's grandson, Vilhelm Bohr, currently a researcher at the U.S. National Institutes of Health, called the play "a wonderful piece of drama, very exciting" and agreed that "some of the character of my grandfather comes through. In many ways it is accurate about my grandfather's personality."[7]

No relatives seem to have expressed themselves on the portrayal of Bohr's wife, Margrethe, but to this reviewer she comes across as a querulous woman unable to conceal her disdain for Heisenberg.

The central question of whether Heisenberg willingly refused to calculate the amount of the U-235 isotope necessary to sustain a chain reaction, or whether he deliberately fudged his estimate to discourage the German war leaders, or whether he simply was unable to make the calculations, is not answered in *Copenhagen*. In response to Bohr's direct question as to why he didn't make the crucial calculation, Heisenberg answers simply but convincingly.

Frayn's dialogue:

H: Why didn't you calculate it?

B: Why didn't I calculate it?
H: Tell us why you didn't calculate it and we'll know why I didn't.
B: It's obvious why I didn't.
H: Go on.
M: Because he wasn't trying to build a bomb!
H: Yes, thank you. Because he wasn't trying to build a bomb. I imagine it was the same with me. Because I wasn't trying to build a bomb. Thank you.

In several interviews after the war, Heisenberg stated explicitly that he and a few colleagues had calculated the critical mass quite accurately but chose not to inform the German government. In 1967 he stated: "The German physicists knew from their calculations how many kilograms were needed to build an atomic bomb — and these figures agreed well, as was shown after the war, with the American ones."[8] And in 1970, in a letter to Ruth Nanda Anshen, the editor of his memoirs: "Dr. Hahn, Dr. von Laue, and I falsified the mathematics in order to avoid the development of the atom bomb by German scientists."

To summarize the uncertainty surrounding Heisenberg's wartime decisions and actions, Frayn has the German physicist say, somewhat sarcastically: "Everyone understands uncertainty. Or thinks he does. But no one understands my trip to Copenhagen."

Ironically, paradoxically, it was Bohr who, in a small way, contributed to the bombs that were dropped on Nagasaki and Hiroshima. Heisenberg's wartime activities contributed to no one's death.

It is this reviewer's opinion that some of the uncertainties about Heisenberg's role in the German wartime nuclear research program can be removed by reconstructing the war situation and by questioning the basic assumption upon which U.S. physicists have doubted Heisenberg's integrity and competence. U.S. scientists, led by Einstein in 1939, were the first to begin work on an atomic bomb, justifying the need for it on the assumption that the Germans were working, or would be working, on the bomb. Heisenberg repeatedly stated that at that time he and the Uranium Club were attempting to build a reactor — an engine. In the absence of any physical evidence of attempted bomb construction, or of any official German documents authorizing the building of a bomb, Heisenberg must be taken at his word.

Werner Heisenberg's entire life was exemplified by excellence: in classical studies, in music (he was an accomplished pianist), and of course in theoretical physics. Before the war he was generally considered by his colleagues to be the most gifted mathematician in the field. His personal integrity has only been questioned out of political enmity over his alleged wartime role.

Professor Rose, in deriding *Copenhagen's* subtle revisionism, speaks for many of Heisenberg's (and Germany's) critics. Their agenda, of course, is all too patent: to begrudge the physicist and the Germans their humanity, while obscuring the inhumanity of the Allied leaders and scientists. Years after the meetings with Bohr, Heisenberg all too charitably remarked of his detractors: "After a great war, history is written by the victors and legends develop that glorify them."[9] By its unraveling a key such legend that glorifies the victors and smears the vanquished, *Copenhagen*, though a drama, gives substantive impetus to the revisionist quest for a fair and accurate picture of the Second World War.

Notes

1. Thomas Powers, *Heisenberg's War: The Secret History of the German Bomb* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993), 610 pp. Robert Jungk, *Brighter Than a Thousand Suns: A Personal History of the Atomic Scientists* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1958), 369 pp.
2. David Irving, *The German Atomic Bomb: The History of Nuclear Research in Germany* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1967), 329 pp.
3. Paul Lawrence Rose, *Heisenberg and the Nazi Atomic Bomb Project: A Study in German Culture* (Berkeley, Cal.: University of California Press, 1998), 352 pp.
4. Paul Lawrence Rose, "Frayn's 'Copenhagen' Plays Well, at History's Expense," *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, May 5, 2000, B4-B6.
5. *New York Times*, April 9, 2000, "From Physics to Metaphysics and the Bomb."
6. Jeremy Bernstein, "The Farm Hall Transcripts: The German Scientists and the Bomb," *New York Review of Books* 13, no. 14 (August 13, 1992), pp. 47-53.
7. Ann Geracimos, "'Copenhagen' Descendants Differ Too," *The Washington Times*, March 4, 2002, p. B6.
8. Cited in Rose, *Heisenberg*, pp. 58-59.
9. Cited in Rose, *Heisenberg*, p. 55.

A More Accurate Picture

May I congratulate you on the excellent *Journal of Historical Review* and your Institute's publications, which permit a free and more informed discussion of issues relating to the so-called "Holocaust." Together with others publications, such as *Dissecting the Holocaust* (E. Gauss, ed.), a truer picture is slowly seeping through the filters of official censorship, which permit people to gain a more accurate picture of those years. While I do not necessarily agree with all the views expressed, I am gravitating toward a revisionist view of the 1939-1945 Holocaust.

N. M.
Ireland

Polite Suggestion

I want to make a polite suggestion. So many of my friends and relations personally saw the Nazi death camps during the last days of World War II that I myself am convinced that there was a deliberate policy of extermination of Jews, Poles, gypsies, and homosexuals by the Nazi leadership. Numbers of the specific events can be challenged, but it is my personal view that the IHR would be far more effective if it were to concede that a holocaust *did* occur and focus on the *ADL*'s distortions of truth. Andy Killgore's and Dick Curtiss' publication would be an ideal example to follow.

Paul N. McCloskey, Jr.
Redwood City, Calif.

Crackdown Against VHO in Belgium

The Foundation Vrij Historisch Onderzoek was dissolved by court on Feb. 22, 2002, and the VHO post office box address was closed. Our new postal address is: Postbus 46, B-2600 Berchem 1, Belgium.

Some people are putting pressure on the government to stop our activities altogether and because of legal problems this is likely to happen this year. Nearly five years ago half of our stock was seized, and since then we have not had an opportunity to defend our case in any court. We have also had to contend with minor seizures, interrogations, and so forth.

In fact, VHO activities are being continued under the similar name Vogelvrij Historisch Onderzoek (www.vho.org). The Dutch word "Vogelvrij" has two meanings: "free as a bird" and "living like an outlaw," which is how revisionists in Europe today are obliged to live.

With regard to the article by Brian Renk in the Sept.-Dec. 2001 *Journal*, "Convergence or Divergence?," p. 43, col. 1, final sentence: Renk writes that Germar Rudolf had earlier established that the three objects on the roof are all on the southern half of the roof. Actually, it was not Rudolf, but rather Jean-Marie Boisdefeu, a Belgian revisionist researcher, who discovered all this. He also described this extensively, with illustrations, in his two-volume book *La Controverse sur L'extermination des juifs par les Allemands*, published by VHO (1996 and 1998).

S. Verbeke
Berchem, Flanders, Belgium

Unfounded Assertion

Samuel Crowell's article, "Beyond Auschwitz" (March-April 2001 *Journal*, Vol. 20, No. 2, pp. 26-35) is spoiled by his totally unfounded assertion that "some portion of non-working Hungarian Jews *could* have been killed," but that their number "could not have been more than a few tens of thousands at most" [p. 33].

While it can not, of course, be excluded that some Hungarian Jews were executed for real or alleged violations of camp regulations, the killing of "a few tens of thousands" would have been possible only as part of a limited extermination policy. Obviously, the first victims of such a policy would have been those unable to work, but as Crowell himself admits, many Hungarian Jews unfit for labor, including children and old people, survived the war at Auschwitz and other camps. So who were the magical "tens of thousands" who "could have been killed"? As Crowell does not believe in the gas chambers, such mass killings would have had to have been carried out by methods other than gassing, most likely by shooting. But if so, how come there is no eyewitness testimony at all to such mass shootings?

Equally absurd is Crowell's claim that up to 55 percent of the deported Hungarian Jews may have perished before the end of the war is equally absurd. Raul Hilberg, who supports the gas chamber and mass extermination claims, puts the number of Hungarian Jewish victims at 180,000, which means that the majority of the Hungarian Jewish deportees must have survived. Therefore, how does Crowell, who rejects the gas chamber legend, arrive at this impossibly high percentage? In reality, the number of Hungarian Jews who died in the camps can not possibly have exceeded some tens of thousands.

Being well acquainted with the documents, and having remarkable linguistic skills, Crowell could make a substantial contribution to revisionist research. He should therefore refrain from making irresponsible statements that damage his credibility.

Jürgen Graf
[by e-mail]

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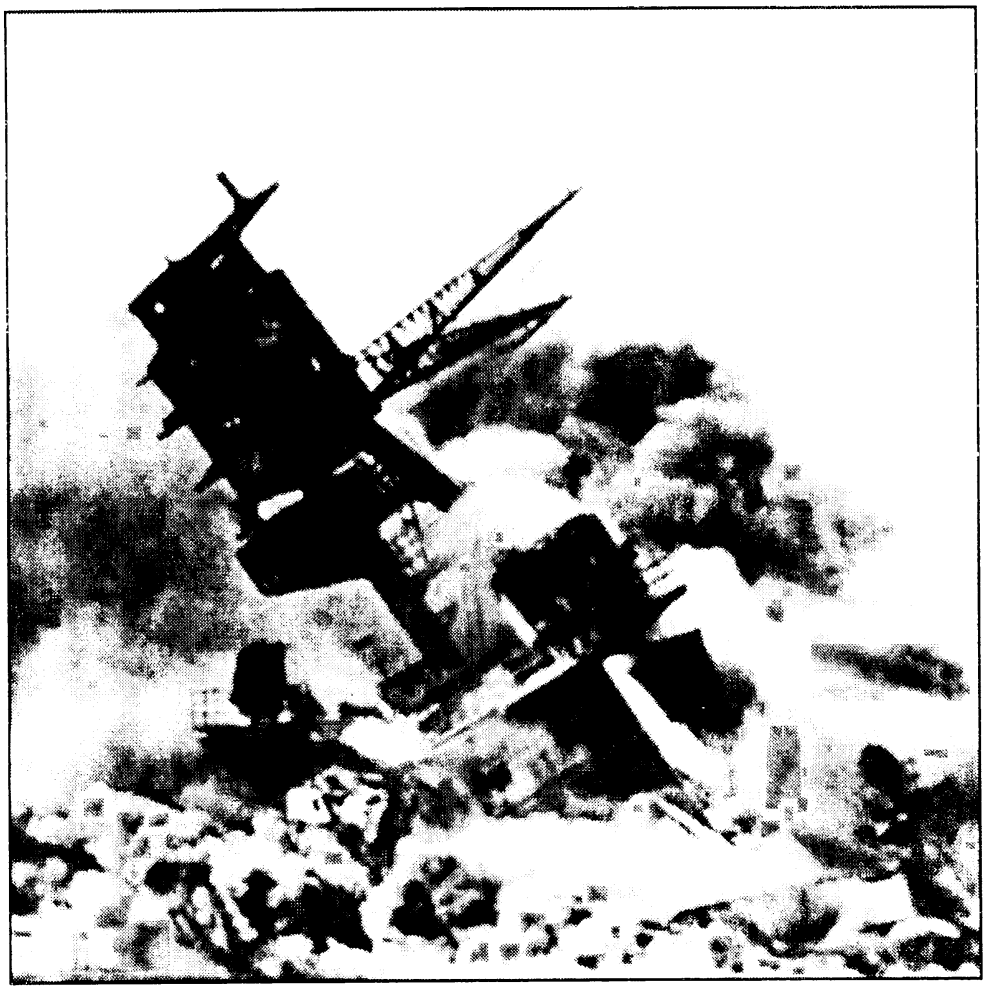

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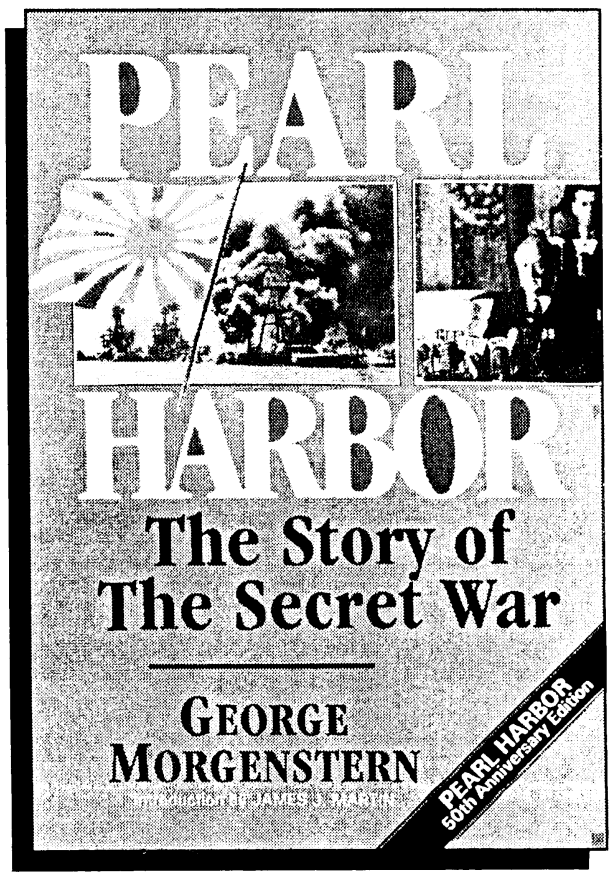

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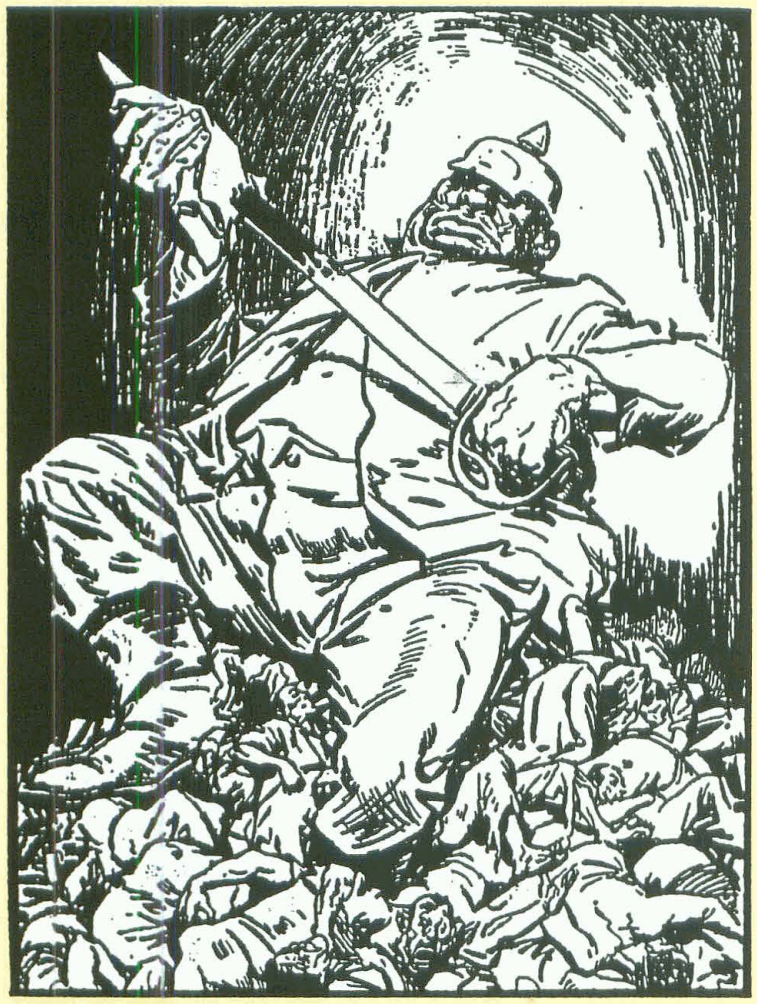

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